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The Candellas of Jejākabhukti

R.K. Dikshit

Abhinav Publications New Delhi

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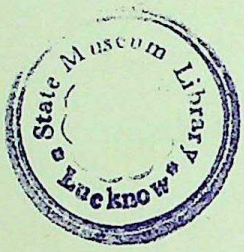

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Foreword

I have great pleasure in introducing Dr. R.K. Dikshit's History of the Chandellas to the scholarly world. It is being issued in two parts. The present first part deals comprehensively with the political history of the Chandellas. The second part will deal with the administration and culture of the country under their rule.

The Chandellas were one of the most glorious royal families of ancient India. They are renowned in history not only for their political achievements but also for the patronage they extended to religion, literature, art and architecture. The magnificent temples which they erected at Khajuraho have been unrivalled in respect of beauty of architecture and sculpture. Like the history of several Indian royal families of mediaeval age, that of the Chandellas also has some problems which require close study of the available material. Dr. Dikshit has not only collected that material from diverse sources but has also utilised it most painstakingly. His approach has throughout been quite objective. The work is fully documented. Every controversial topic is discussed in detail with full references to previous views and their critical examination.

I am confident that the present work will occupy a high place among the histories of ancient Indian dynasties. It is in my opinion the best and the most comprehensive work on the history of the Chandellas so far published. I am sure that it will be heartily welcomed by all students of ancient Indian history.

V.V. MIRASHI
Retired Hony. Professor of
Ancient Indian History,
Nagpur University

Vidarbha Sansodhana
Mandala, Nagpur
6th September, 1976

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Preface

The period of nearly six centuries that intervenes between the death of *Sakalottarāpatheśvara* Harṣa and the defeat of Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna at Tarain is one of the most eventful epochs in the annals of Northern India. For the larger part of it, there was no paramount sovereign and the country was parcelled out amongst a number of mutually-warring states. It is the intricate story of their rise and fall which constitutes the history of the age : hence the importance of a dispassionate study of the records left by every one of them.

The Candella kingdom was one of the several states that came into existence during this period. It was founded by Nannuka in the first half of the ninth century and the area under its sway was designated as Jejākabhukti after the name of his grandson. The exploits of the Candella kings may not be as spectacular as those of a Rājā Bhoja or a Rai Pithorā, but their history is undoubtedly of more than mere local interest. Some of them are credited with extensive conquests, but more important is the part they played in the national struggle against alien invaders. Their role in mustering up opposition to the Ghaznavids cannot be easily forgotten. Even Mahmud was compelled to show wholesome respect to their power, and after his invasions Candellas emerged as the leading power to the north of the Vindhyas. Two centuries later, they showed their mettle again when their land was invaded by the Ghorian forces. Though they lost Mahoba and Kālañjara in 1203, yet they did not yield and succeeded in recovering the latter with amazing alacrity. The invasions of Muhammad Ghori and his lieutenants had crippled and paralysed almost all the important ruling families of Northern India including the Cāhamānas,

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Gāhaḍavālas, Pālas, Senas and the Candellas. Whereas the rest faded out of existence, the Candellas weathered the storm and rallied round considerably to emerge as the leading Hindu dynasty on this side of the Vindhyas. Their stand undoubtedly saved the trans-Vindhyan India for a time from the ravages of Muslim invaders.

The Candellas ruled over Jejākabhukti for about six centuries—a period that is rather unusual in the annals of the ruling dynasties of India. Their realm was hemmed in between powerful and aggressive neighbours from the very beginning and if they were able to maintain its integrity for such a long period, it was undoubtedly due to the prowess and statesmanship of their rulers. The Candellas, however, are renowned not only for their political achievements but also for their victories of peace. While the eminent dramatists Kṛṣṇa Miśra and Vatsarāja are the two undying memorials to their patronage of learning, the Khajuraho group of temples has immortalised them for posterity. Likewise, the large number of masonry tanks and embankments have kept alive the memory of 'Candeli raj' in Bundelkhand.

The history of this dynasty has been attracting the scholars ever since the publication of Cunningham's *Reports*, but except for a few articles and a chapter each in Vaidya's *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* and Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India*, there was no comprehensive work on the history of the Candellas when I took it up for my doctorate dissertation—'The Candellas of Jejākabhukti and Their Times'—which was accepted by the University of Lucknow for the award of Ph.D. degree, in 1950. Its publication has been considerably delayed, but that has enabled me to revise and elaborate it in the light of fresh evidence.

In the present monograph, based upon my aforesaid thesis, I have tried to give a comprehensive account of the history of the Candellas. It is based primarily on their epigraphic records, supplemented by those of other contemporary dynasties that have a bearing on their history. A few unpublished inscriptions that came to my notice in the course of my visits to Bundelkhand have also been utlized. Information has also been

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derived from the two works of Candella court—*Prabodhacandrodaya* and *Rūpakaṣaṭakaṁ*. The latter work—a collection of six dramas by Vatsarāja who served under Paramardideva and Trailokyavarman—appears to have escaped the notice of other writers, earlier as well as later, on the subject. Bardic accounts preserved in *Paramāla Rāso* (*Mahobā Khaṇḍa*), *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, *Ālhakhaṇḍa* and *Balabhadravilāsa*—a late work which preserves the traditional account of war between Paramardideva and Pṛthvīrāja III—have been utilized wherever possible. I have greatly benefited by the notes of the learned editors of Candella inscriptions and the works of previous writers on the subject. My indebtedness to them has been duly acknowledged in the body of the text and in footnotes. It has been my endeavour to give an objective and dispassionate account of the history of the Candellas, free from dogmatism and chauvinistic bias : not in the spirit of hero-worship but with a critical sifting of available evidence.

I take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the late Dr. D.R. Bhandarkar and my *guru* Prof. C.D. Chatterji for suggesting the topic of my research and to the latter also for sympathetic guidance and constant encouragement, as well as to the learned examiners of my thesis, the late Drs. N.P. Chakravarti and R.S. Tripathi for their appreciation of my dissertation and valuable suggestions which have been incorporated in the present work. My thanks are also due to Mahamahopadhyaya Professor V.V. Mirashi for the valuable Foreword to this monograph. I am also beholden to my wife Srimati Prem Kumari Dikshit, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt. for preparing the Index and to my former pupils Dr. K.S. Saxena, M.A., Ph.D. and Dr. Y.B. Singh, M.A., Ph.D. for their assistance in checking up the references. I am greatly obliged to the authorities of the State Museum, Lucknow, particularly to its Administrative Officer my old student Sri V.N. Srivastava, for supplying the photograph of the seal of Trailokyavarman's Garra copper-plates. I shall be failing in my duty if I do not express my appreciation of the active interest taken by another old pupil of mine, Dr. B.N. Sharma, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Keeper, National Museum, New Delhi, for the active interest

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he has taken in the publication of this work, as well as to my publishers Messrs Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, especially their proprietor Sri Shakṭi Malik for his willing cooperation in its publication.

Lucknow R.K. Dikshit

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List of Abbreviations

A.B.O.R.I.	*Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Poona.
A.I.	*Ancient India* by R.C. Majumdar.
A.I.K.	*The Age of Imperial Kanauj*—Ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar.
A.S.I., A.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report.*
A.S.R.	*Archaeological Survey of India Reports* by Alexander Cunningham.
B.K.	*Bhārata Kaumudī*, Indian Press, Allahabad.
C.C.I.M.	*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* by V.A. Smith.
C.H.I.	*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, Ed. by W. Haig.
C.I.I.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.*
C.M.I.	*Coins of Mediaeval India* by A. Cunningham.
C.O.G.	*Chaulukyas of Gujrat* by A.K. Majumdar.
D.H.N.I.	*The Dynastic History of Northern India* by H.C. Ray.
E. & D.	*The History of India As Told by Its Own Historians* by H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson.
E.C.	*Epigraphia Carnatica*
E.C.D.	*Early Chauhan Dynasties* by D. Sharma.
E.H.I.	*The Early History of India* by V.A. Smith.
E.I.	*Epigraphia Indica.*
E.R.K.	*The Early Rulers of Khajuraho* by S.K. Mitra.
G.T.W.G.	*The Glory That Was Gurjaradeśa* by K.M. Munshi.

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H.G.D.	*The History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty* by R. Niyogi.
H.M.H.I.	*History of Mediaeval Hindu India* by C.V. Vaidya.
H.O.B.	*History of Bengal*, Pt. I, by R.C. Majumdar.
H.O.C.	*The History of the Candellas* by N.S. Bose.
H.O.G.P.	*The History of the Gurjara Pratīhāras* by B.N. Puri.
H.O.K.	*History of Kanauj* by R.S. Tripathi.
H.O.P.D.	*History of Paramāra Dynasty* by D.C. Ganguly.
H.O.T.	*The Haihayas of Tripurī and Their Monuments* by R.D. Banerji.
I.A.	*Indian Antiquary.*
I.H.Q.	*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Calcutta.
J.A.S.B.	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Calcutta.
J.B.B.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Bombay.
J.B.O.R.S.	*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna.
J.D.L.	*Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University.
J.O.I.H.	*Journal of Indian History*, Madras.
J.O.R.	*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras.
J.R.A.S.	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, London.
J.U.P.H.S.	*Journal of U.P. Historical Society*, Lucknow.
K.Y. (R.)	*Kitabul-Yamini*, Tr. by J. Reynolds.
K.Z.A.	*Kitab Zainul Akhbar* by al-Gardizi.
L.T.S.M.G.	*The Life and Times of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna* by M. Nazim.
P.A.I.O.C.	*Proceedings and Transactions of the All India Oriental Conference.*

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P.C.	*Prabodha Candrodaya.*
P.C.M.	*Prabandha Cintāmaṇi.*
P.R.	*Paramāla Rāso.*
Pr. R.	*Pṛthvīrāja Rāso.*
P.R.A.S.W.C.	*Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* Western Circle.
R.A.T.T.	*Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Their Times,* by A.S. Altekar.
R.T.	*Rājataraṅgiṇī.*
Sachau	*Alberuni's India,* by E.C. Sachau.
S.F.E.	*The Struggle for Empire.* Ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalkar.
S.H.A.O.I.B.	*Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal* by B.C. Sen.
S.I.M.H.	*Studies in Indo-Muslim History* by S.H. Hodivala.
S.M.G.	*Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin* by M. Habib.
T.A. (D.)	*Tabqat-i-Akbari,* Tr. by B. De.
T.C.C.P.I.	*Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India* by R.V. Russel.
T.F. (B.)	*Tarikh-i-Firishta,* Tr. by J. Briggs.
T.K.	*Al-Tarikhul-Kamil,* Bulak, Vol. IX.
T.N. (R.)	*Tabaqat-i-Nasiri,* Tr. by H.G. Raverty.
T.P.	*The Paramāras* by P. Bhatia.

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CHAPTER I

THE CANDELLAS : ORIGIN, GENEALOGY, CHRONOLOGY AND STATUS

The history of India, punctuated with alternating periods of integration and distintegration, introduces us to several epochs of turmoil and confusion when centrifugal tendencies obtained the upper hand and the doctrine of *Mātsya nyāya* prevailed. Such a period followed the death of *Sakalottārapatheśvara* Harṣa in c. 647 A.D., when North India once again became a mere bundle of states, inviting foreign aggression by its inherent weakness. The political unity went into abeyance and history lost its synthetic character. It becomes very difficult to unravel the tangled web of political happenings during the two succeeding centuries. The Chinese invasion, Ādityasena's bid to revive the Gupta supremacy, Yaśovarman's meteoric rise, and rivalry between the Pālas. Kārkoṭas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Gurjara-Pratīhāras for domination over Kanauj are only a few of the more important landmarks in the history of that eventful period. The *vijayaśrī* ultimately rested with the last-named, who captured that city of hallowed memory in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. They succeeded in establishing an empire in Northern India that rivalled that of Harṣa, and dominated the scene until their power was shattered by the Ghaznavid invaders in the first quarter of the 11th century A.D. However, at no stage in their long career, did they attain the status of *Eka-rāṭ* in Northern India, the sovereignty of which they shared with other dynasties ruling contemporaneously with them in different parts of the country.

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DYNASTIC NAME

The most important feature of the post-Harṣa period was the emergence of Rajput dynasties claiming Kṣatriya descent, who ruled over practically the whole of Northern India. One such dynasty came to power in a part of the Vindhyan region. It was the family, variously named as Candella, Candrella and Candrātreya, which established its sway in Central India almost simultaneously with the establishment of the power of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in the Antarvedī. The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059, one of the earliest records of the family, and almost all the copper-plate charters describe it as Candrātreya *vaṁśa*.[1] The Charkhari plate of Devavarman (V.S. 1108) and the Deogadh rock inscription of the reign of Kīrtivarman (V.S. 1154), respectively, mention the dynastic name as Candela and Candella.[2] Literary works as well as the epigraphic records of some of the contemporary dynasties also mention these two forms of the name. For instance, the Banaras grant of Lakṣmīkarṇa Kalacuri gives the name as Candella,[3] while the Madanpur stone inscription of Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna uses the term Candela.[4] Evidently, these were the more popular forms of the dynastic name. The Dudhai stone inscriptions of Devalabdhi mention another variant of the name, viz., Candrella, which is not met with elsewhere. Kielhorn, who edited these inscriptions, took this term to be 'a derivative, by means of the Prakrit suffix *illa* from Candra'. He also believed that the name Candrātreya was a later word 'which owes its origin to a desire of having a somewhat more Sanskrit-like name'.[5]

1. *E I.*, I, p. 141, v. 12; XVI, p. 12, l. 1 (text); p. 274, l. 1 (text), etc.
2. *Ibid*, XX, p. 127, l. 9 (text); *I. A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 1.
3. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 242, v. 8.
4. *P.R., A.S.W.C.*, 1903-4, p. 55. Cf. also the Revasa stone inscription of V.S. 1243, *E.C.D.*, p. 94.
   Bangla inscription (No. 2) of the time of Yajvapāla king Gopāla gives the name as Caṅdilla, *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 330.
   Russel's suggestion (*T C.C.P.I.*, IV, pp. 440-43) that the name Candella might have 'obtained a territorial designation from Chanderi' is untenable.
5. *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 237.

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ORIGIN

The Candellas were a branch of the lunar sept of the Rajputs. They are included in the list of thirty-six Rajput clans mentioned in the *Varṇa Ratnākara*,[1] as well as in *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, and *Kumārapālacarita*.[2] The drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* describes them as *Candrānvayapārthivāḥ*,[3] while according to *Mahobākhaṇḍa* (*Paramāla Rāso*) of Canda, they belonged to the *Vidhu-kula*, or *Candravaṁśa*.[4] *Balabhadravilāsa* not only describes them as *Candravaṁśāvataṁśa*, but also traces their descent from Atri (*Atri-samudbhav-ānvaya*).[5] The epigraphic records of the family also confirm the tradition. For instance, the fragmentary Mahoba inscription states that 'from the beloved of the night (*Rajanīvallabha*) there sprang a race (*vaṁśa*) beloved by all'.[6] One of the Khajuraho inscriptions also figuratively describes the Candella king Dhaṅga as having been born in the Vṛṣṇī *kula*.[7] The Vṛṣṇīs as is well known, were a section of the Yādavas, who belonged to the lunar sept of the Kṣatriyas.

The origin of the Candellas, like that of other Rajput dynasties, is shrouded in obscurity. According to the legend contained in the *Mahobākhaṇḍa* the progenitor of the family was descended from the union of the Moon (Candra) with Hemavatī, the widowed daughter of Hemarāja, the priest of Indrajit, the Gaharawāra rājā of Kāśī.[8] Smith has rightly characterised it as a 'silly legend', but his further assumption that 'the only

1. *Varṇa Ratnākara*, pp. 31 & 412.
2. Vide Tod, *Annals And Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, Table after p. 98 and Vol. II, Ch. 7.
   According to Vaidya the clan Chanda mentioned in the Rāso stands for the Candellas, *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 131, III, p. 376.
3. *P.C.*, p. 18.
4. *P.R.*, p. 18, II, 4, etc.
5. *Balabhadravilāsa*, pp. 714, 726. The Dahi C.P. also traces their descent from Atri, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 74.
6. *E.I.*, I, pp. 218, 221, v. 5. Another inscription from Mahoba of the time of Paramardideva describes him as an ornament of *Candra-kula*, *B.K.*, I, p. 439, v. 20.
7. *E.I.*, I, p. 145, v. 43.
8. *P.R.*, Candrabrahma Utpattikhaṇḍa, pp. 9-11; *A.S.R.*, II, pp. 445-46. For other versions of the story see Crooks, *The Tribes and Castes of North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, II, pp. 196-97, and Wright, 'The Chandel Thakurs' in *I.A.*, II, pp. 33-34.

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significance of the myth is its implied admission that the pedigree of the clan required explanation, which was best attained by including it in the group of moon-descended Rajputs, and adding respectability by inventing a Brāhmaṇa ancestress' is unwarranted.[1] As a matter of fact such 'silly legends' characterise the traditional accounts of the origin of most of the Rajput dynasties. No importance should be attached to them for, in almost every case, they have been shown to be based on bardic inventions and imaginations, which cannot be substantiated by epigraphic evidence. In this particular case, moreover, the *Mahobākhaṇḍa* is quite unauthentic and unhistorical. We cannot accept a part of it while rejecting the rest.

The official records of the Candellas contain no allusion to Hemavatī, Hemarāja or Indrajit.[2] The Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D. 954, the earliest record of the dynasty so far discovered, traces its origin as follows:— 'From that Creator of the Universe, that ancient being (*Viśvasṛk Purāṇapuruṣa*), that sage who is the abode of sacred knowledge, sprang those early (*pūrve*) sages of holy conduct, Marīci and the rest. Atri, one of them, begat the sage Candrātreya, who by his ceaseless austerities acquired fierce might, (and) who was a flame of unfeigned intensely radiant knowledge. The family proceeding from him (the Candrātreya *vaṁśa*)...is a fit object of laudation .... Among (the princes of that family) there was the illustrious prince Nannuka....'[3]

The Khajuraho inscription of A.D. 1002, though in general agreement with the above, gives a slightly varying account of the origin of the family as follows:— 'From his own mind (*mānasa*) he (Brahman) created Marīci and other sages. The most distinguished among them was Atri, from whose eye sprang (*netra-pātre-prasūtaṁ*) the Moon (Indu) whose son was the sage Candrātreya, the progenitor of the distinguished race called after aim... In the course of time (*kālena*) there came in

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 136-37.
   The illegitimate issue of even a Brāhmaṇa widow will not add to the respectability of the family.
2. *Mahobākhaṇḍa* mentions Indrajit and his seven predecessors (*P.R.*, I, 85-7), none of whom is known to epigraphic records.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 125, 130-31, vs. 7-8, 10.

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this race a prince named Nannuka....'[1] Likewise, the Baghari stone inscription of A.D. 1195 states that 'from the eye-lotus of Atri was born the god (who is) the ornament of the beloved husband of the daughter of the lord of mountains. From him (sprang) this race...in (which) there were born...the (Candrātreya) princes...'[2] Again, we read in the Ajayagadh rock inscription of the reign of Vīravarman (A.D. 1260): 'Glory be to that one friend of the god of love, who gladdens the eyes (and is) the head-ornament of the moon-crested (Śiva) —the moon (Indu), from whom, here on earth there has sprung a race...'[3]

The extracts cited above from the epigraphs belonging to different centuries indicate that the dynasty had a consistent tradition of its origin, and in view of it we ought to have no hesitation in rejecting the tradition preserved in the *Mahobā-khaṇḍa*, the authenticity of which cannot be established. The epigraphic records make no mention of Candravarmā (the son of the Moon born to Hemavatī), the traditional founder of the dynasty. Instead, they trace its origin to one Candrātreya *muni*,[4] who has been very highly eulogised for his learning and austerities. The Nanyaura copper plate of Dhaṅga even describes him as the 'crest-jewel of the three worlds (*trailokya-cūḍāmaṇi*).[5] We are in no position to ascertain the historicity or otherwise of this eminent personage, but it is interesting to note that a *gotra* of the Brāhmaṇas also derives its name from a homonymous ancestor. Some of them are mentioned in the copper-plate grants of the Candellas among the donees.[6]

1. *Ibid*, pp. 138, 140, vs. 8-9, 12, 14.
2. *Ibid*, pp. 209, 212, vs. 3-4.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 327, 329, v. 2.
   Another Khajuraho inscription, badly mutilated, also seems to have contained an account of the origin of the family, *Ib.*, p. 121.
4. Cf. *I.A*, XVI, p. 201, ll. 1-2 (text) *Candrātreyamuner-mahīyasi kule*; *Ib.*, p. 208, etc.—*Candrātreyanarendrāṇāṁ Vaṁśa.*
   Both the bardic tradition and the epigraphs give a legendary account of the origin of the family. They only agree in tracing its origin from the Moon.
5. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202, 203, l. 1 (text). Cf. also *E.I.*, I, p. 125, v. 7; p. 140, vs. 9-11.
6. Cf. *E.I.*, IV, pp. 160-163, ll. 37-8, 53, 66 (text).
   Vaidya also suggests that the Candella clan derived its name from the *gotra* ancestor Candrātreya, *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 176.

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Another view of Smith also needs revision. He writes : 'It seems quite clear that their (Candellas) ancestors were not immigrants from the N.W. and had nothing to do with the Huns and such people, who appear to be largely represented in the present day by the fire-descended Rajputs, the Cauhāns and others. The indications are fairly distinct that the Candel clan originated in the midst of the Gonds, with whom other similar tribes were also intermixed. The Candels really sprang from an aboriginal stock; whether this stock was called Bhar or Gond we cannot say, and if I am right in thinking the two tribes to be very closely connected, the question is of no importance.'[1]

Russel, Baden Powell, Majumdar and several other eminent scholars share the views of Smith,[2] but while he is inclined to believe that the Candellas were originally Gonds, Russel believes that they were the descendants of Bhars. Traditional accounts associate Gaharwārs with the origin of the Candellas, and Russel even suggests that they might have been only 'a local branch of the Gaharwārs...(who) were probably derived from the Bhars'. Smith also did not rule out the possibility of their being 'the result of crossing Gaharwar with Bhar and Gond blood'.[3]

Smith, evidently, represents that school of thought which regards the Rajputs either as the descendants of foreign invaders or of the aboriginal population of the country. Without going into the question of the origin of the Rajputs, let us examine his arguments for placing the Candellas into the latter category. These are : (i) the Candella zamindars of Khaju-

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p.137; also *J.A.S.B.*, XLVI (1877), Pt. I, p. 234 and *E.H.I.*, p. 429.
2. Cf. *T.C.C.P.I*, IV, pp. 440-43; *J.R.A.S.*, 1899, pp. 536, 555-63; *A.I.*, p. 472; also *C.H.I.*, III, p. 567; *H.O.C.*, p. 8, etc.
3. Smith also admits that Bhars were at one time very numerous in the districts of Banda, Hamirpur, Jhansi, *J.A.S.B.*, XLVI (1877), Pt. I, pp. 227-28.
   Cf. also Elliot and Bennett. The former asserts that 'common tradition assigns to the Bhars the possession of the whole tract from Gorakhpur to Bundelkhand and Saugor', while the latter says that the Candellas were the descendants of a Bhar chief who was recognised as a Kayastha. Subsequently, his descendants won recognition as 'Chatris' (*I.A.*, I, pp. 265-66).

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raho claim to be autochthonous, (ii) they trace their origin to Maniyagadh, not many miles distant, and the poet Canda associates the place with a Gond chieftain, (iii) 'Maniyādeo' (or Devī ?) whose shrine exists at Maniyagadh, and who was the tutelary deity of the Candellas, appears to be akin to the Gond deities.[1] The Candellas installed an image of the deity in Mahoba also, after their occupation of the town. The only other known shrine dedicated to him is at the village of Barel in Hamirpur district, which appears to have been formerly occupied by the Bhars, and (iv) as late as the 16th century A.D. the Candella princess Durgāvatī married the Gond chief of Gadha Mandla.

None of these arguments is convincing. They can be easily refuted. When the Candella zamindars of Khajuraho declare that they are autochthonous to Bundelkhand they do not mean anything more than that they have been living there for generations past. It should not be construed to mean their descent from an aboriginal stock, a suggestion which they would greatly resent.

Maniyagadh may have been originally a Gond settlement, but instances are not wanting of Rajput adventurers venturing into backward areas, dispossessing the original inhabitants and carving out small principalities for themselves. If we accept the suggestion of Smith, should we not, on the same analogy, consider the Guhilots of Mewar as having originated from the Bhils, or the family of the Maharaja of Bikaner from the Jats ? The founder of the Candella dynasty must have either fought his way to the Gond territory and carved out a small principality for himself or he might have been posted in that region as a governor by his suzerain, where he subsequently set up a feudatory state.[2]

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 137; but on p. 136 Smith describes it as 'a tribal deity of the Bhars'. It is significant that Maniyadeo is nowhere referred to in the inscriptions of the Candellas.
2. Smith himself, writing about the Hamirpur and Sumerpur *parganas* (Hamirpur district, U.P.), remarks that during the Candella period they were 'sparsely inhabited by aboriginal tribes, who were displaced by Rajput immigrants during the 14th century and afterwards' (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 132). The same thing could have also happened six centuries earlier.

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Various gods and goddesses have been known by local and domestic names, and the absence of their names in iconographic texts does not necessarily mean that they were initially the deities of an aboriginal people. Do we not find inscribed on the pedestals of the images in the Chaunsat Yogini temple at Bheraghat, not very far from Maniyagadh, names like Deddarī, Ṭhanī, Takārī, Ridhālī, etc. which cannot be recognised among the lists of such goddesses in the available texts ? Moreover, there is no evidence that Maniyādeva was the deity of an aboriginal people, though he was admittedly the tutelary deity of the Candella family.

The hollowness of Smith's arguments is apparent from his reference to Durgāvatī's marriage to the son of a Gond chief.[1] A single instance proves nothing, and we know very well that, under adverse circumstances, Rajput princes had to contract matrimonial relationships even with the Muslims.

Had the Candellas originated from the Gonds and Bhars of Bundelkhand they would have been found there in large numbers, which, however, is not the case.[2] Even at the present day there are aboriginal elements in the population of Bundelkhand and in earlier ages they might have been more numerous, but it does not mean that the province was a close preserve of theirs. Do we not find mentioned in the epigraphs of the Candella period Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Kāyastha families living in Bundelkhand and should they not, by a similar process of reasoning, be regarded as having originated from the aboriginal stock ?

The Candellas are undoubtedly a Rajput clan and the epigraphic evidence does not show that any inferiority was attached to them in the past. It reveals their matrimonial relationships with important Rajput families from the very beginning of their history. A daughter of one of the early rulers of the dynasty was the chief queen of the Cedi ruler Kokalla I, and the mother of his successor. The sixth king

1. According to Abul Fazl, however, Durgāvatī's husband, Dalpat Shah, was the son of a Kachavāhā Rajput who had been adopted by the rājā of Gadha Mandla, *Akbar Nama*, Tr. Beveridge, II, p. 326.
2. Smith himself concedes that the Candellas were a small clan who 'formed a ruling caste, holding in...subjection...Gonds, Kols, Bhils and other...aborigines', *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 137.

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Harṣa was married to a Cāhamāna princess. His son Yaśovarman was probably married to a Gandhāra princess. Vīravarman's queen belonged to Dadhīci *vaṁśa*. Moreover, according to popular tradition Paramardi was married to a sister of the Parihāra (Pratīhāra) chief Māhila, and his son, Brahmajit to a daughter of Cāhamāna Pṛthvīrāja III.[1] These matrimonial relationships are enough to refute Smith's assertion that 'the Candels are regarded as a clan of impure descent'. The available evidence does not lead us to any definite conclusion regarding their origin. Even Vaidya, who refutes the arguments of Smith, has failed to adduce evidence in support of of his own theory that they were Kṣatriyas and probably came to Bundelkhand 'during Kushan or Hun invasions of the Aryan land viz., the Panjab and the Gangetic valley'.[2] In the present state of our knowledge, we can only say that the Candellas were regarded neither as inferior to nor as distinct from other Rajput tribes. Bardic traditions include them in the list of thirty-six royal clans.[3]

TERRITORY

It has been already stated that the Candella princes had established their sway in the Vindhyan region,[4] but we have no means of determining their original habitat or the extent of their principality at the outset. According to local tradition their original seat was at Maniyagadh....the birth-place of Candravarman, the traditional progenitor of the family. However, epigraphic evidence is silent on this issue. No Candella epigraph has been found at Maniyagadh, nor is the place mentioned in any of their records. Smith believed that the clan spread from there northwards to Mahoba and later on established their sway all over Jejākabhukti.[5] On the contrary, *Mahobākhaṇḍa* would have us believe that the principality

1. Presently also, they are freely marrying into and from other Rajput families.
2. Cf. Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, II, pp. 130-33.
3. *Ibid*, p. 131, and Tod, *op. cit.*
   Cf. also *A.I.K.*, p. 82.
4. Vākpati, the second ruler of the dynasty, is expressly stated to have made the Vindhyas his *Krīḍa-giri*, *Infra*, p. 27.
5. *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 132, 137-8.

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founded by Candravarman included Maniyagadh, Mahoba, Khajuraho and Kālañjara.[1] As the three places mentioned first are not far removed from one another, they might very well have formed the nucleus of the Candella dominion. We cannot be equally sure of the inclusion of Kālañjara within it. The available epigraphic evidence shows that it was conquered sometimes in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D. by Yaśovarman, the seventh king of the dynasty, who also appears to have pushed up his northern frontier upto the Yamunā and the Gaṅgā.[2] The Yamunā formed the northern limit of the empire of his son, Dhaṅga, too, who also controlled the Gaṅgā, at least between Prayāga and Kāśī. He is further credited with the acquisition of Gwalior, though it appears to have continued in possession of his Kacchapaghāta feudatories.[3] The possession of the strong forts of Kālañjara and Gwalior must have considerably strengthened the position of the Candellas in Central India. The name of the thirteenth king, Kīrtivarman, is especially associated with Deogadh region on the Betwa, while during the reign of his grandson Madanavarman, a Candella governor, stationed at Bilhari (Jabalpur district) is believed to have administered the surrounding territory, including the Sagar and Damoh districts, where 'the Candeli raj is still remembered'. His successor Paramardideva certainly lost the western part of his kingdom including Mahoba to the Sultan of Delhi, but his son, Trailokyavarman, partially made up the loss by gaining fresh territory in what is now known as Baghelkhand.

It would appear from the above that the frontiers of the Candella kingdom varied from time to time, but at the height of its power the dynasty seems to have controlled an area the limits of which correspond, more or less, to the traditional boundaries of Bundelkhand.[4] Within these limits are situated the forts and towns associated with the Candellas. All of their

1. *P.R.*, I, vs. 108-112.
2. *Infra*, p. 41.
3. *Infra*, p. 59.
4. Viz., इत जमुना उत नर्मदा । इत चंबल उत टोंस ।
Cf. Cunningham : Bundelkhand is 'said to have comprised all the country to the south of the Jumna and Ganges, from the Betwa river in the west to the temple of Vindyavāsinī Devī (Mirzapur) in the east, including the districts of Chanderi, Saugar and Bilhari near the source of the Narbada in the south', *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 406.

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inscriptions have been discovered within this area, and such of the villages and *viṣayas* mentioned in their land-grant charters as can be identified are located within it. Moreover, the entire area is interspersed with numerous tanks and temples which tradition ascribes to 'Candeli raj'.

This area, bounded on the north by the Yamunā, on the south by Narmadā, on the east by Tons (Tamasā) and on the west by Chambal (Charmaṇāvatī), lies almost in the centre of India, between N.L. 23° 45′ and 26° 30′ and E.L. 77° 52′ and 82°. It comprises such parts of Uttarpradesh as lie to the south of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, including portions of the districts of Allahabad and Mirzapur, besides those of Jhansi, Banda, Jalaun and Hamirpur; Sagar and Damoh districts of Madhyapradesh; a large number of erstwhile princely states including Chhatarpur, Ajayagadh, Orchha, Panna, Charkhari and Bijawar, formerly included in the Central India States Agency. The kingdom thus established was 'sufficiently extensive and wealthy' to supply its rulers with 'ample revenue and considerable forces'. In the past ages, the region played a glorious role in the political and cultural history of our country. Local tradition asserts that it contained the *āśramas* (hermitages) of such eminent *ṛṣis* as Vālmīki, Vedavyāsa, Atri and Agastya. In historical times, too, it has had the proud privilege of producing literary celebrities, like Kṛṣṇa Miśra and Vatsarāja, or Tulasidāsa and Keśavadāsa; soldiers like Ālhā, Ūdala and Chatraśāla; heroic ladies like Durgāvatī and Lakṣmībai; kings and statesmen like Dhaṅga, Vidyādhara and Kīrtivarman or the Bundela chief Bir Singh. It did not lag behind in the sphere of creative arts either : the celebrated Buddhist *stūpa* was situated at Bharhut, while the Khajuraho group of temples is reputedly the best in Northern India. The province is also famous for its numerous lakes, formed by throwing embankments across the streams. The area is rich in natural resources, and being traversed by numerous branches of the Vindhyas and the still more numerous rivers and rivulets, it is remarkable for its beautiful scenery, which even attracted the notice of Rāma.[1] It has its share of holy places

1. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gita Press), II, 94 :
   न राज्यभ्रंशनं भद्रे न सुहृद्भिर्विनाभवः,
   मनो मे बाधते दृष्ट्वा रमणीयामिमंगिरिम् ॥ ३ ॥

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too. Kālañjara and Chitrakūṭa have been included among the holy *tīrthas* from times immemorial. The Jainas, too, have their sacred shrines and *atiśaya-kṣetras* at Sonagiri, Ahar and Papaura.

This wide area does not appear to have been known by a common name before Candella dominance. Parts of it were included in Cedi-deśa and Daśārṇa.[1] In an inscription of the Gupta age it is simply designated as the 'land between the Kālindī (Yamunā) and Narmadā',[2] but during the Candella period it was christened as Jejābhukti after the name of Jejā (Jayaśakti), the third king of the dynasty.[3] The name is also spelt as Jejābhuktikā or Jejākabhukti in the inscriptions,[4] and no doubt corresponds to the popular form Jājāhūtī, Jajāhoti,

1. A Kālañjara inscription styles king Paramardin as 'Daśārṇādhināthaḥ; *J.A.S.B.*, XVII (1848), pt. I, p. 315.
2. *C.I.I.*, III, p. 89.
   According to *Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa* the region between these rivers was known as 'Yuddhadeśa' :
   चेद्य नैषधयो: पूर्वेविन्ध्क्षेत्राश्च पश्चिमे ।
   रेवायमुनयोर्मध्ये युद्धदेश इतीर्यते ॥
3. *Infra*, p. 28.
   The name continued till the 13th or 14th cen., when with the dominance of the Bundelas the region came to be known as Bundelkhand. An Ajayagadh inscription describes a Candella king as the crest-jewel of the rulers in Pītaśaila *viṣaya* (*E.I.*, I, pp. 333, 336, v. 9). Dr. Katare proposes to identify Pītaśaila with the Pīta hill in the former Orchha State, now included in M.P. (*E.I.*, XXX, p. 89) but Dr. Mitra suggests that the 'term was used in a figurative sense to indicate the *rākar*-soil districts of Bundelkhand which constituted the centre of the Candella kingdom'—*E.R.K.*, p. 11. His suggestion is based on the authority of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, IX, p. 65, according to which the prevailing colour of the soil from Jhansi to Lalitpur is largely red or yellow, locally known as *rākar* or *rāṅkar*. If Dr. Mitra's surmise is correct, Pītaśaila *viṣaya* would be another name for at least a part of the territory under the Candellas. *P.R.* (I. 165), however, states that Piṅgalagiri was an earlier name of Kālañjara.
4. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 415, v. 21; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 174.
   The Bangla inscriptions give the name as Jejāhuti (Nos. 1 and 11) or Jejābhukti (No. 8), *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 323 ff.

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Jījhoti or Jijhotī.[1] The limits of Jejākabhukti are still marked by the distribution of Jujhotia Brāhmaṇas, Baniyas and Ahirs, who derive their designation from the territorial name.[2]

Some of the modern historians have identified Jejābhukti (Jijhoti) with *Chih-chi-to* (Watters) or *Chi-ki-to* (Beal) mentioned by Hiuen Tsang, in disregard of the unequivocal statement of the Mahoba inscription.[3] According to the Chinese pilgrim, *Chih-chi-to* lay more than 1000 *li* to the north-east of Ujjain and more than 900 *li* to the south of Maheśvarapura (Gwalior ?). He adds that 'this country was about 4000 *li* and its capital about 15 *li* in circuit, the soil was rich, the crops were abundant, and pulse and wheat were products. The majority of the people were not Buddhists, but there were some tens of monasteries with a few brethren; there were about ten *deva* temples and 1000 professed adherents of the other systems. The king, who was a Brahmin, was a firm believer in Buddhism, and encouraged men of merit and learned scholars of other lands collected here in numbers'.[4] The description is so indefinite that little can be made out of it in determining the identity of the province or its capital. Jejā or Jayaśakti who is stated to have lent his name to the province, cannot be placed earlier than the ninth century A.D., and consequently, if we are to believe the Mahoba inscription, Jejābhukti cannot be identified with *Chih-chi-to*. The distances given by the Chinese also do not suit the proposed identification, and Smith had to concede that 'supposing the distance to be estimated as from capital to capital, Khajuraho will not suit the indications given by Hiuen Tsang...', and to reconcile the apparent discrepancy he made a further assumption that Eran, and not Khajuraho, was the capital of Jijhoti in the seventh century.[5] Watters also was not convinced of this

1. Alberuni (Sachau, I, p. 202) gives the name as Jejāhūtī, and *Skanda Purāṇa* as Jahāhuti. According to it, Jahāhuti was an extensive country consisting of 42,000 villages, vide *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, Pt. I, p. 40.
2. Another tradition derives 'Jujhotiā' from *Yajur-hota*.
3. Cf. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 405; Smith, *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 131.
4. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, p. 251.
5. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 131.
   Smith also believes that Khajuraho was not occupied by the Candellas 'much earlier' than the reign of Yaśovarman, *Ibid.*

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identification and believed that *Chih-chi-to* represented Chittor.[1] Moreover, the name Jejābhukti or Jijhoti does not occur in Indian records before the days of the Candellas.

The earliest capital of the Candella kings seems to have been at Khajuraho (Chhatarpur district), the name of which is given as Śrī Kharjūravāhaka in an inscription of V.S. 1059.[2] The earliest Candella record found at the place is dated in V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954) and belongs to the reign of Dhaṅga, the eighth king of the dynasty.[3] None of these records, however, expressly describes Khajuraho as the capital of the Candellas, but accounts left by the early Muslim historians confirm the popular belief. Ibnul-Athir, for instance, tells us that the country (? capital) of Bīdā was named Khajurahah.[4] The Candellas spent lavishly in beautifying their capital, the splendour of which appears to have reached its zenith in the tenth century A.D. Cunningham believed that Khajuraho began to decline after the defeats suffered by its rulers at the hands of Mahmud.[5] However, it escaped destruction at the hands of the iconoclastic invader. Inscriptions of Jayavarman, Madanavarman and Paramardi discovered at the place show that, even if no longer the capital, it was not wholly neglected. After the decline and end of the Candella power, Khajuraho seems to have been forgotten and neglected, for at the time of Ibn Batuta's visit in 1335 A.D. it was a small place occupied by long haired *yogis* with a reputation for skill in magic.[6] But the neglect proved fortunate, and saved its magnificent temples from the ravages of early Muslim rulers.

1. Watters, *op. cit.*, II, p. 251.
   Cf. also Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, II, pp. 412-13.
2. *E.I.*, I, p. 147.
   P.R., I. 109, mentions the name as Khajjūrapura.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 122-35.
   The earliest dated inscription at Khajuraho engraved on the pedestal of a Hanuman image bears the date 316 (Harṣa era ?), but it does not mention any ruler. (*P.R.*, *A.S.W.C.*, 1903-4, p. 47).
4. *T.K.*, Bulak, IX, pp. 115-16.
   Cf. also Abu Rihan, Reinaud, *Fragments Arabes*, etc., p. 106, vide *A.S.R.*, II, p. 412.
5. *Ibid*, II, p. 438.
6. Ibn Batuta calls it Khajura, and refers to its lake, about a mile in length and surrounded by idol temples. *Travels*, Tr. Lee, p. 162.

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The names of later kings, Madanavarman and Paramardi, are chiefly associated with Mahoba, but the place must have been of some importance even in the early part of the Candella history as the fifth king, Rāhila, is known to have constructed a tank and a fine granite temple,[1] now in ruins, on the outskirts of the town. The *Mahobākhaṇḍa* would have us believe that Mahoba (Mahotsavanagara) was the capital even in the days of the founder of the dynasty. Smith's conjecture that Khajuraho was the religious and Mahoba the civil capital of the Candellas may not be altogether wide of the mark. Kālañjara, of course, since its conquest by Yaśovarman, remained their most important military base. Ajayagadh was another important military centre of theirs. 'The irregular quadrilateral formed by these four places was the centre of the Candella power'. Smith has suggested that after the capture of Kālañjara by Kutb-ud-din the Candella kings ordinarily resided at Ajayagadh.[2]

GENEALOGY

The genealogy of the Candella kings can be determined, fairly accurately, with the help of their epigraphic records, but it differs considerably from the account preserved in the bardic annals. Only four of the twenty-two names mentioned in the *Mahobākhaṇḍa* occur in the inscriptional list, and this fact alone is sufficient to indicate what little value should be attached to that text. Moreover, the legends are themselves at conflict with one another in many respects and thus betray themselves all the more.[3]

The *Mahobākhaṇḍa*, published by Kāśī Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, gives the genealogy of the Candellas as follows:—

1. *Infra*, p. 31.
Mahoba is very intimately associated with the Candella rulers, whose names have been immortalised by the tanks, temples or palaces which they constructed there.
2. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 135.
Beglar remarked that Rāhila's name occurred on several stones of one of the Ajayagadh temples (*A.S.R.*, VII, p. 47). However, neither Cunningham mentions it nor is his name noticed there today. Ajayagadh gained prominence only at a later period in Candella history.
3. Cf. *A.S.R.*, II, pp. 449-50.

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(1) Candrabrahma, (2) Balabrahma, (3) Parabrahma, (4) Rūpabrahma, (5) Belabrahma, (6) Gajabrahma, (7) Jñānabrahma, (8) Jānabrahma, (9) Śaktibrahma, (10) Pṛthubrahma, (11) Bhaktabrahma, (12) Jagatabrahma, (13) Kīlabrahma, (14) Kalyāṇabrahma, (15) Sūrajabrahma, (16) Rūpabrahma, (17) Vidhubrahma, (18) Rāhilabrahma, (19) Madanabrahma, (20) Kīrtibrahma, (21) Paramāla, (22) Brahmajit, Kāmajit, Raṇajit, Sabhājit.[1]

According to it the number of kings was 22, but Crooks has referred to another tradition which states that there were forty-nine rulers in between Candravarman and Paramardin.[2]

Now let us consider the epigraphic evidence. The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 traces the genealogy as follows:— (1) Nannuka, (2) Vākpati, son, (3) Jayaśakti, son, (4) Vijayaśakti, younger brother, (5) Rāhila, son, (6) Harṣa, son, (7) Yaśovarman, son, (8) Dhaṅga, son.[3] The Mau epigraph, supplemented by the Nanyaura and Charkhari copper-plates, continues the list : (9) Gaṇḍa, son, (10) Vidyādhara, son, (11) Vijayapāla, son, (12) Devavarman, son (?), (13) Kīrtivarman, son of No. 11, (14) Sallakṣaṇavarman, son, (15) Jayavarman, son, (16) Pṛthvīvarman, brother of No. 14, (17) Madanavarman, son.[4] The Baghari inscription adds Yaśovarman, son

1. *P.R.*, pp. 25-28.
2. *The Tribes and Castes of the North-western Provinces and Oudh*, II, p. 196.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 122-35.
   The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059 (*Ib.*, pp. 137-47) also mentions these rulers, with the exception of No. 3, probably because he was not in the direct line of ancestry. The names of the two brothers, Nos. 3 & 4, are mentioned together in almost all the copper-plate charters of the dynasty.
4. *Ibid*, pp. 196-206; *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 204-7; *E.I.*, XX, pp. 125-28.
   Mau epigraph omits No. 12, possibly because he was not in the direct line. However, it mentions Nos. 14 & 15 who, too, should have been excluded for the same reason. The Nanyaura and Charkhari copper-plates alone mention No. 12, who is described as the *pādānudhyāta* of No. 11. Probably he was his elder son. He might have died, like No. 3, without leaving a male issue, to be succeeded by another son of No. 11.
   Nos. 14 & 15 are omitted in Augasi plate of Madanavarman (*I.A.*, XVI, pp. 207-210) and Ajayagadh inscription of Kalyāṇadevī (*E.I.*, I, pp. 325-30), but they are mentioned in another Ajayagadh inscription (*A.S.I, A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91). No. 15 must have died without leaving a son or a brother and was consequently succeeded by his uncle.

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and (18) Paramardideva, son.[1] We get further names from the Ajayagadh inscription of Kalyāṇadevī[2] : (19) Trailokyavarman, son (?) and (20) Vīravarman, son. The last two rulers mentioned in the epigraphs are : (21) Bhojavarman,[3] and (22) Hammīravarman, son of No. 20[4] (?).

CHRONOLOGY

It is, however, not easy to determine the chronological position of these rulers from the available data. The earliest date so far known (V.S. 1011=A.D. 954) belongs to the reign of the eighth king Dhaṅga; and there are only two dates which can be fixed with tolerable certainty for the close of one reign and the beginning of another, viz., A.D. 1203, when Paramardideva died and Trailokyavarman might have come to the throne,[5] and V.S. 1346—a year found in the records of both Nos. 21 and 22.

Dhaṅga attained the age of more than a hundred years and reigned for about half a century, from c. V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954) to V.S. 1059 (A.D. 1002).[6] The record of V.S. 1011 shows

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 207-14.
   It is the only record that mentions Yaśovarman, who appears to have predeceased his father and did not reign. He is excluded from the records of his descendants because they mention the order of succession and not the genealogy of the kings.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 325-30.
   It mentions the names of the rulers from No. 13 to No. 20 (except Nos. 14 & 15).
   Cf. also the Ajayagadh rock inscription of Gaṇapati (*A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91).
   No. 19 is mentioned in several epigraphs, which describe him as the *pādānudhyāta* of No. 18, without specifying the relationship between the two. If Dahi C.P. has been read correctly, he must have been a son of No. 18 (*A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 74).
3. No. 21 is mentioned in several records of his reign, but they do not specify his relationship with the other members of the family.
4. No. 22 is also mentioned in several inscriptions, the most important being his Charkhari copper-plate (*E.I.*, XX, pp. 134-135). It excludes No. 21, and describes No. 22 as the *pādānudhyāta* of No. 20. He might have been the latter's son.
5. The earliest known date of Trailokyavarman is April 22, 1205, *E.I.*, XVI, p. 273.
6. *Ibid*, p. 147, l. 32-3 (text) : '*Saṁvat 1059.....rāja Śrī Dhaṅgadeva rājye*'.

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him already in possession of Gwalior, which he had wrested from the king of Kanauj, and, therefore, his accession may be placed in c. 950 A.D. His death, too, could not have been far removed from A.D. 1002 (V.S. 1059). The reign of No. 17, Madanavarman, can also be fixed within narrow limits of error. His dates range between V.S. 1186 and 1220 (A.D. 1128-29 and 1163-64), giving him a reign of at least 34 years. It must have terminated in about A.D. 1165, for the earliest known date of his successor is A.D. 1166 (V.S. 1223); and as the only known date of his predecessor but one, No. 15, is V.S. 1173 (A. D. 1117) his accession could not have been far removed from A.D. 1128.

These calculations give us 125 years between the death of Dhaṅga and the accession of Madanavarman, during which period there reigned six generations of kings—number of rulers being eight. Six generations of kings (number of rulers seven) also ruled before the accession of Dhaṅga; and if we allow the same period for the total duration of their reigns, we get c. 825 A.D. for the establishment of the Candella kingdom.[1] This would give a period of about 20 years for each generation, and counting onwards, we can fix c. 905-925 A.D. for Harṣa and c. 925-950 for Yaśovarman. This satisfies the synchronism of the former with Bhoja II and Kṣitipāla of Kanauj and of the latter with Devapāla of Kanauj.[2] It also allows sufficient time for his conquests.

'*Rājye*' should be interpreted as 'during the reign of' and not as 'in the realm of' as proposed by Kielhorn (*Ib.*, p. 139).

There is an apparent contradiction in this record. V. 55 describes Dhaṅga as dead, while the last line of the text dates it during the period of his reign. Very probably, v. 55 was inserted by Jayavarman when he had the inscription re-engraved.

1. Cunningham mentions 204, 225, 661 and 682 as the traditional dates for the foundation of the Candella power. He ascribes the first two dates to Harṣa era and thus places the beginning of the Candella rule in the first quarter of the ninth century A.D. The later dates cannot be satisfactorily explained. According to Cunningham they might be referred to the Śaka era (*A.S.R.*, II, pp. 446-47). Smith accepts 225 (Harṣa era=A.D. 831) for the beginning of the Candella power (*J.A.S.B.*, L (1881), part I, p. 6), and he may be correct.
2. *Infra*, pp. 37-39, 46.

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No. 9 succeeded a centenarian father, and naturally, therefore, his reign could not have been a long one. It may have terminated before c. 1015—certainly before A.D. 1018-19 when his son, Vidyādhara slew Rājyapāla of Kanauj. We have no date for the reign of No. 11, but it must have terminated before V.S. 1107 (A.D. 1050), when No. 12 was already on the throne. We may reasonably fix c. 1015-1035 for No. 10 and c. 1035-1050 for No. 11, which would make the former a contemporary of Mahmud, Bhoja Paramāra, and Gāṅgeyadeva of Tripurī, and the latter of Gāṅgeyadeva.[1] No. 12 is known only from two copper-plate records of his reign, respectively dated in V.S. 1107 and 1108. He is ignored in all the records of his successors. Evidently he had only a short and perhaps inglorious reign, which may have ended in c. 1060 A.D. No. 13, the restorer of the family fortune and the vanquisher of Lakṣmīkarṇa,[2] appears to have had a long reign, ending in or about 1100 A.D.—the last known date of his reign being V.S. 1154 (A.D. 1098).

Nos. 14-16 had unusually brief reigns—sharing between them a period of 28 years from c. 1100 to 1128. We know of only one date during this period, viz. V.S. 1173 (A.D. 1117) which belongs to the reign of No. 15. A statement in the Mau inscription that minister Gadādhara served under four kings, Nos. 14-17,[3] confirms the position established above.

We have already discussed the reign periods of Nos. 17 and 18. Nos. 19 and 20 again had long reigns. The former might have come to the throne directly after the death of No. 18 in 1203 A.D.—the known dates of his reign ranging between V.S. 1261 and 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241); and those of his successor between V.S. 1311 and 1342 (A.D. 1254-1285). They might have ruled, respectively, from 1203 to 1245 and from 1245 to 1285. No. 21, whose earliest record is dated in V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288), might have ascended the throne in c. 1285, but he had a very brief reign, for his successor was already on the throne in V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1288).[4] The latter ruled at least upto V.S. 1368 (A.D. 1311).

1. *Infra*, pp. 73 ff and 100.
2. *Infra*, p. 104.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 201, 205-6, vs. 36-42.
4. *E.I.*, XX, p. 134 ff.

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STATUS

Divergent views have been expressed with regard to the status of the early Candella rulers. While Smith believed that even the first two rulers of the dynasty 'enjoyed some share of sovereign power',[1] Dr. Ray asserts that they were the vassals of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[2] Dr. Mitra rightly questions the presumption that the Candellas were their feudatories from the very beginning, and observes that their 'feudatory status....in relation to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras during the early stages of their history is not clearly established'. However, he be lieves that they had submitted to the overlordship of the latter in the middle of the ninth century, and that all the rulers from Jayaśakti to Yaśovarman were subordinate to their authority.[3] Dr. Majumdar, on the other hand, holds that the early Candella rulers were feudatory to the Pālas. According to him while Vākpati might have been associated with Devapāla in his exploits in the Vindhyan region, Vijayaśakti assisted him in his expedition to the far south. He even believes that the 'Candellas had helped Devapāla in his fight against Bhoja (Pratīhāra) and were rewarded after the latter's defeat with the sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho, perhaps under the suzerainty of Devapāla'.[4] In the absence of any positive evidence it is difficult to accept the view that early Candella kings were subordinate to the Pālas. While the latter make no mention of the former in their records, the records of the Candellas, far from alluding to their subservience to the Pālas, refer to their conquests in Gauḍa, Rāḍha and Aṅga.[5]

Now let us examine the views of those scholars who maintain that the Candellas were subordinate to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. The arguments adduced in support of

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 128.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 667 ff.
3. *E.R.K.*, pp. 29-35.
   It is, however, not clear how Jayaśakti could have submitted to the overlordship of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras '*after* Vijayaśakti's expedition to the south. when he might have been assisting the Pālas' (*Ib.*, pp. 32-3), Vijayaśakti was not the predecessor but successor of Jayaśakti.
4. *H.O.B.*, I, p. 119, n. 4.
   But see *A.I.*, p. 290 where he states that 'they were feudatories of the Pratīhāra emperors'.
5. *Infra*, pp. 48, 57.

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this assumption are:— (i) the founder of the Candella dynasty and his immediate successors are styled 'king'[1] and not '*Mahārājādhirāja*', (ii) their dominion is designated as '*bhukti*',(iii) the Barah copper-plate of Bhoja[2] and the Deoli and Karhad plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas[3] show that their most famous stronghold Kālañjara was in possession of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras at least upto A.D. 938, and (iv) in 'their official records also till the year 954 A.D....the Candellas actually acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras'.[4]

A critical study of the available evidence, however, shows that none of these arguments can be sustained. Nannuka and his immediate successors are mentioned only in the two Khajuraho inscriptions dated, respectively, in V.S. 1011 and 1059.[5] It is true that these epigraphs style them 'king', but this fact should be considered in its proper context. Firstly, they are in verse and their authors could not ignore the exigencies of metre. Secondly, they give the title of 'king' not only to the early rulers of the dynasty but also to Harṣa, Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga who are known to have borne the imperial titles of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*.[6] It is also noted that while the copper-plates of the Candellas mention their full titles, the stone inscriptions usually style them 'king'.[7] The very first ruler of the dynasty mentioned in a copper-plate, i.e. Harṣa, bears the epithets of a sovereign

1. The two Khajuraho epigraphs which mention the first eight rulers of the dynasty style them *bhūpa, bhūpāla, bhūpati, kṣitipa, mahīpati, nṛpa, nṛpati and pṛthvīpati*. Sometimes their names have been mentioned without any regal title prefixed to them.
2. *E.I.*, XIX, p. 18, ll. 6-8 (text).
3. *Ibid.*, V, p. 194, v. 25; *Ibid.*, IV, p. 284, v. 30.
4. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 668 ff; *E H.I.*, p. 406; *H.O.K.*, p. 256; *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 126; *G.T.W.G.*, III, p. 81; *A.I.K.*, p. 82.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 122-35; 137-47.
6. Cf. Nanyaura Copper-plate of Dhaṅga, *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, ll. 6-7 (text).
7. The only important exceptions are the Kālañjara rock inscription of Madanavarman (*A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 34-5, No. C) and the Bamhani sati record of the reign of Hammīravarman (*E.I.*, XVI, p. 10, n. 4). Even in the copper-plates full titles are mentioned only in the genealogical portion : the rulers usually sign themselves simply as *rājā* or *rājña*, Cf. *Ib.*, pp. 14, 275, 276, XXXII, p. 125 or only as '*Śrīman*', *Ib.*, p. 1 23

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ruler, and we can safely presume that had similar charters issued by the earlier rulers been available they too would have been found so styled. The mere fact that Nannuka and his successors bear the title of 'king' in the two Khajuraho epigraphs is not sufficient to warrant their feudatory status. These records do not give imperial titles even to the Gujara-Pratīhāra rulers Heraṁbapāla and Devapāla mentioned by them.[1]

There is not much substance in the second contention either. '*Bhukti*' does connote a province or part of a kingdom, but in 'Jejākabhukti' it is merely a component part of the name of the territory, and does not signify its status. It is evident from the Madanpur inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna, which designate Jejākabhukti as *deśa* or *maṇḍala*.[2] Even Kānyakubja has been described as *bhukti* in a record of Bhoja Pratīhāra.[3] As regards the third objection, there is no doubt about the inclusion of Kālañjara in Kānyakubja Empire in A.D. 938, but the objection would have had some force behind it if it could be proved that the celebrated fortress had been included in the Candella dominions from the very outset. The available evidence shows that it was conquered by the Candellas only during the reign of their seventh king Yaśovarman.[4] Even today Kālañjara and Khajuraho belong to two different states —the former to U.P. and the latter to M.P.

Though Dr. Ray asserts that the Candellas acknowledged the sovereignty of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras in their official *records* upto A.D. 954, yet he has referred to *only one record* to prove his contention, viz., the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga of V.S. 1011. Much is made of the mention of the name of Vināyakapāla at the end of this epigraph which reads : 'while the illustrious Vināyakapāladeva is protecting the earth, the earth is not taken possession of by the enemies, who have been annihilated'.[5] It has been presumed that this Vināyakapāla was a Gurjara-Pratīhāra king and that he was the suzerain of

1. *Ibid.*, I, p. 129, v. 43.
   Cf. also *Ib.*, pp. 122, l. 10; 197, v. 3 and 222, v. 22.
2. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 174, etc.
3. *E.I.*, XIX, p. 18, l. 6 (text).
4. *Infra*, p. 41.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 129, 135.

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Dhaṅga. However, the record neither indicates his family nor his status. The known records of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras do not reveal the existence of any Vināyakapāla ruling in A.D. 954. The only king of that name known to them was dead before A.D. 946, when his son Mahendrapāla II was on the throne.[1] There was no sense in inserting the name of a dead king and describing him as 'protecting the earth', when his son was the ruler. Moreover, the way in which his name has been inserted at the end of the record would be a quaint way of mentioning the name of the suzerain. In all probability, Vināyakapāla is only a name of Dhaṅga himself.[2] Apart from this extremely doubtful reference, in no other record of the Candellas do we find a king of Kanauj having been described as 'protecting the earth', and consequently the assertion that 'they retained in their public documents a...recognition of the imperial line at Kanauj' upto A.D. 954 is hardly justified.

There is absolutely no indication in the records of the Candellas that they had ever owed allegiance to the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. On the contrary, they boast of several victories against the latter. Harṣa claims to have installed or re-installed Kṣitipāla on the throne of Kanauj.[3] Yaśovarman was 'a scorching fever to the Gurjaras'. He not only wrested Kālañjara and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *doab* from them, but also successfully raided Kośala, Kuru, Mithilā and Mālava which formed parts of their empire. He even forced king Devapāla to surrender to him an image of Vaikuṇṭha, which he enshrined in a temple at his own capital.[4] Lastly, his son Dhaṅga is expressly stated to have obtained 'exalted sovereignty' (*sāmrājyamuccaiḥ)* by defeating the *Kānyakubja-narendra* on the battle-field.[5] The records of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, too, do not mention the Candellas among their vassals. It is also significant that no inscription of the former has been found anywhere within the dominions of the latter.

Thus the evidence in our possession is hardly sufficient to

1. *Ibid*, XIV, pp. 176-88.
2. Cf. v. 37 of another Khajuraho inscription which suddenly introduces a new name of Yaśovarman, viz., Lakṣavarman, *Ib.*, I, p. 128.
3. *Infra*, p. 32.
4. *Infra*, p. 53.
5. *Infra*, p. 58.

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justify the assumption that the Candellas were a feudatory power.[1] Their records not only do not allude to their subservient status but they frequently refer to their own feudatories. The Candella kingdom might have had an humble beginning, but it was independent of any external control. Subsequently, the conquests of Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga raised it to the status of a *Sāmrājya*.

1. The scholars who believe in the feudatory status of the early Candella rulers do not agree in respect of the sovereign power to whom they were subordinate. Besides the Pratīhāras and the Pālas (as mentioned above), it has also been suggested that they were feudatories of the Kalacuris (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 652).

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CHAPTER II

FOUNDATION OF CANDELLA KINGDOM AND ITS EARLY HISTORY

NANNUKA (c. 831-845 A.D.)

Bardic tradition attributes the foundation of Candella Kingdom to one Candravarman, who is unknown to sober historical records. The latter mention Nannuka as the first ruler of the family, and we may safely presume that it was he who had established the Candella kingdom, towards the close of the first quarter of the ninth century,[1] in the Vindhyan region where his descendants continued to rule for about six centuries.

Unfortunately we possess very little information about the history of Nannuka's reign who is mentioned only in two Khajuraho inscriptions dated, respectively, in V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954) and V.S. 1059 (A.D. 1002). They, too, eulogise him in vague conventional phrases, which do not yield any information of historical value. The first epigraph refers vaguely to his victorious career, handsome personality, widespread fame and sovereign authority. He was 'a touch-stone to test the worth of the gold of the regal order' (*kṣatra-suvarṇa-sāra-nikaṣa-grāvā*), and 'playfully decorated the faces of the women of the quarters with the sandal of his fame'. 'His enemies without exception bowed down at the progress of his unprecedented valour' while other 'princes, confounded through fear, carried (his) command on their head', like *śeṣā*.[2] 'Shaped like the god of love', this ruler had conquered many hosts of

1. *Supra*, p. 18.
   Dr. Ray's suggestion that Candravarman was merely a *biruda* of Nannuka may be correct.
2. *Śeṣā* means 'the remains of the offerings made to a deity', which are reverently placed on their heads by the devotees, and not 'garland', as translated by Kielhorn (*E.I.*, I, p. 131, v. 10).

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enemies (*bahu-vairi-varga-jayinaḥ*), and his fame sung by 'delighted panegyrists' spread far and wide causing despair to his antagonists.[1] Likewise, the other record describes him as the sun (*aṁśumāna*) and pearl-jewel of his family and compares him to Arjuna in respect of his superb valour and bowmanship. It also alludes to the *udāra-kīrti* of Nannuka who was the 'delight of his subjects (*janānanda*)', and a store-house of modesty (*vinaya-nidhānam*).[2]

It is unfortunate that these records know nothing of the antecedents of the founder of the Candella dynasty, nor do they throw any light on the circumstances that helped him in carving out a principality in central India.

The mere fact that the Candella records do not give him any title higher than *nṛpa*, *narpati* or *mahīpati* has led modern historians to believe that his position was merely that of a petty feudatory ruler,[3] but as we have already stated there is no convincing evidence for such an assumption. Local tradition asserts that the Candellas had established their sway in Bundelkhand after defeating the Parihāras (Pratīhāras), believed to be identical with the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[4] It is evident from the epigraphic records[5] that the latter had been ruling over certain parts of the Vindhyan region which they subsequently lost to the Candellas. However, it is difficult to believe that the progenitor of the Candella dynasty defeated the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, who were then at the zenith of their power. Had Nannuka really defeated the Imperial Pratīhāras in Bundelkhand, the fact must have found a prominent mention in the dynastic records. It is, however, possible that he overthrew a 'local branch' of the Pratīhāras that held sway in the Vindhyan region. One such branch had its capital at Mau-Sahaniya, between Nowgong and Chhatarpur.[6] The existence

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 131, vs. 10-12.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 141, vs. 14-16.
3. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 668.
4. Cf. *J.A.S.B.*, L (1881), pt. I, pp. 1-8; *E.H.I.*, p. 405.
5. Cf. Barah copper-plate, Deogadh and Siyadoni inscriptions, *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 15 ff; IV, pp. 309 ff; I, pp. 162 ff.
6. *E.H.I.*, p. 406; *J.A.S.B.*, L, pt. I, p. 6; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 138.

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of another branch, ruling over Jhansi-Guna area, is revealed by the Bharat Kala Bhawan plate of Harirāja.[1]

VĀKPATI (c. 845-865 A.D.)

The two inscriptions mentioned above are again the only source that disclose the existence of Vākpati, the son and successor of Nannuka,[2] but they furnish as little information about the son as about the father. One of them refers to his 'spotless fame' (*amalakīrti*) which pervaded the three worlds,[3] while the other praises him for learning (*vidy-āvadāta-hṛdaya*), unstained valour, modesty and knowledge of polity. He defeated his enemies, caused pleasure to his subjects, removed their apprehensions, and thus reduced to insignificance the glory of the mythical kings Pṛthu and Kakutstha by his accomplishments.[4] Both the epigraphs compare him to Vākpati (Bṛhaspati), noted for his wisdom and learning among the gods.[5]

There is a significant statement in the record of A.D. 954, viz., that Vākpati's 'pleasure-mound was that Vindhya, the peaks of which are charming with the sweet notes of his excellencies sung by Kirāta women....'[6] This reference

1. *E.I.*, XXXI, pp. 309 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 125, 131, v. 12; p. 141, v. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 131, v. 12.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 141, v. 17.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 125, 131, v. 12, and p. 141, v. 16.
   In the former case, the expression '*Vākpati-tulya vācaḥ*' is an epithet of Vākpati, and not of Nannuka as suggested by Kielhorn.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 125-26, 131, v. 13 :

   यस्यामलोत्पलनिषण्णकिरातयोषि
   दुद्गी ततद्गुणकलध्वनिरम्यसानुः ॥
   क्रीडागिरिः शिखरनिर्ज्झवारिपात झात्का
   रताण्डवितकेकिगणः स विन्ध्यः ॥

   Dr. Ray concludes from this statement that 'Vākpati succeeded in extending to some degree the limits of his small ancestral principality (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 669), while according to Dr. Ganguly 'it probably means that he fought battles in this region, for at this time the Vindhya hill was the target of attacks of a number of kings, viz., the Pratīhāra Bhoja, the Pāla Devapāla, and the Kalacuri Kokalla I' (*A.I.K.*, p. 82). Dr. Majumdar's view that he might have been collaborating with Devapāla in the course of his campaigns in the Vindhyan region (*H.O.B.*, I, pp. 119-20) is not supported by evidence.

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unmistakably connects him with the Vindhyan region, over a part of which his father appears to have established his sway.

JAYAŚAKTI AND VIJAYAŚAKTI (c. 865-885 A.D.)

Vākpati had two sons, Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti.[1] The former name is often abbreviated into Jejā and Jejjāka,[2] and the latter into Vījā, Vijaya and Vijjāka.[3] The two brothers, referred to in a large number of dynastic records, are generally mentioned together,[4] and in the land-grant charters of their successors they are said to have made the family resplendent by their birth in it.[5] The prominent mention of these early rulers even in the records of their remote descendants—in preference to greater and more important sovereigns like Dhaṅga and Vidyādhara—leads us to infer that they were primarily responsible for the consolidation of the power of the Candella family, the foundation of which is ascribed to their grandfather. In this connection we may recall the statement in a Mahoba inscription that the territory under the sway of the Candellas came to be known as Jejākabhukti after the name of Jejā.[6]

The elder brother, Jayaśakti, ascended the throne after the death of his father. He appears to have died without leaving any male issue, and was succeeded by his younger brother (*anuja*) Vijayaśakti.[7] Unfortunately, the family records eulogise the two brothers only in vague conventional phrases, devoid of all historical significance. Thus, the Khajuraho stone inscription of A.D. 954 tells us that 'princes, when they are met together, enraptured, praise with shaking of heads the

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 126, 131, v. 14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 221, v. 10; p. 122, l. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 221, v. 10; p. 141, v. 18; p. 122, l. 6.
4. Only the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059 ignores Jayaśakti.
5. *Jayaśakti-Vijayaśakty-ādi-vīr-āvirbhāva bhāsvare*, *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, l. 2; *Ib.*, XXV, p. 206; *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 12, 275, etc.
6. *Ibid.*, I, p. 221, v. 10 :

   जेजाख्ययाथ नृपतिः स बभूव जेजाभुक्तिः पृथोरिव
   यतः पृथिवीयमासीत् ।

7. *Ibid.*

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deeds of both of them by the unmeasured prowess of whom adversaries were destroyed, as wood are burnt by a blazing fire'.[1] There are several other passages similarly alluding to the destruction of their enemies,[2] but, singularly enough, no enemy has been mentioned by name. One of the Khajuraho inscriptions, however, contains a statement in which we may detect an important historical fact. It tells us that Vijayaśakti desirous of conquering the South once again bridged the (southern) ocean like Rāma.[3]

This statement has given rise to a good deal of speculation. Dr. H.C. Ray holds that if Vijayaśakti 'really invaded peninsular India he must have done so as the feudatory of some more powerful sovereign', whom he prefers to identify with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Emperor Bhoja I or his son Mahendrapāla.[4] Their records, however, do not contain any reference to the invasion of Southern India. Dr. R.C. Majumdar, on the other hand, believes that the epithet '*suhṛd-upakṛti-dakṣaḥ*' applied to Vijayaśakti in the verse under reference shows that he had undertaken the southern expedition for the benefit of an ally. He identifies the latter with king Devapāla of Bengal, who claims to have reached the Vindhya region and sent an expedition to the extreme south.[5] We find it difficult to agree with the learned scholar, who is attaching unwarranted significance to the phrase '*suhṛd-upakṛti-dakṣaḥ*'. Almost all the political philosophers of ancient India tell us that the capacity or the will to help an ally was an essential qualification for a king. We need not import a particular meaning into a general statement. It is also difficult to accept his further statement that the Candella king had helped Devapāla in his war against Bhoja Pratīhāra, and was in return rewarded with

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 131, v. 15.
2. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 141, v. 18.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 141-42, v. 20:

   विनयनतसुमित्रापत्यसंवाहितांघ्रिः
   प्रवरहरिचमूभिः क्रान्तपर्यन्तभूमिः ।
   सुहृदुपकृतिदक्षो दक्षिणाशांजिगीषुः
   पुनरधित पयोधेर्बन्धवैधुर्यमर्यः ॥

   There is *śleśa* in this stanza—the adjectives used being applicable both to Rāma and Vijayaśakti.
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 670-71.
5. *H.O.B.*, I, p. 119, n. 4.

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the sovereignty of the territory near Khajuraho, perhaps under the suzerainty of the Pāla ruler.[1] The Candellas had already established themselves at Khajuraho two generations earlier, and had Vijayaśakti been *really* instrumental in the defeat of Bhoja, the fact must have been mentioned categorically in their records. There is no evidence, whatsoever, to show that the early Candella rulers were feudatories of the Pālas, and it is also very doubtful whether Vijayaśakti and Devapāla were contemporaries. The inscriptional passage might only contain an allusion to the southward expansion of his ancestral dominions by Vijayaśakti, not necessarily upto the southern sea.

RĀHILA (c. 885-905 A.D.)

Vijayaśakti's successor was his son Rāhila.[2] For the history of his reign also we have to depend upon the two Khajuraho inscriptions mentioned above, and the legendary account contained in the *Paramāla Rāso*. The epigraphic records are not of much help : they merely eulogise him in vague terms. The record of 954 A.D. describes him as a mighty warrior, 'thinking of whom the enemies enjoy little sleep at night'.[3] Further, describing his warfare in the symbolism of a sacrifice, it tells us that Rāhila 'never tired, at the sacrifice of battle, where the terribly wielded sword was the ladle, where the oblation of clarified butter was made with streaming blood, where the twanging of the bowstring was the exclamation *vaṣaṭ* (and) at which exasperated warriors marching in order were the priests, successful with his counsel (as with sacred hymns) sacrificed, like beasts, the adversaries in the fire of enmity, made to blaze up, high by the wind of his unappeased anger'.[4]

1. *Ibid.*
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 126, 131, v. 16; p. 142, v. 21.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 131, v. 16.
4. *Ibid.*, v. 17 :

भीमभ्राम्यदसिस्रुचि स्रवदसृक्संपादिताज्यक्रिये
ज्यानिर्घोषवषट्पदे क्रमचरत्संरब्धयोधर्त्विजि ।
अश्रान्तः समराध्वरे प्रतिहतक्रोधानिलोद्दीपिते
वैरोदर्च्चिषि यः पशूनिव कृती मन्त्रैर्जुहावद्विषः ॥

For a comparison between battles and sacrifices, Cf. *Mahābhārata* (Gita Press), V. 141, 29-31, *Rāmacarita Mānasa* (Gita Press, Mūla Guṭakā), p. 157.

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The other record also contains several passages which allude vaguely to the destruction of his enemies. It styles him '*narendra-candramāḥ*' and refers to his virtuous conduct as well as to the favours that he bestowed upon his friends and dependents.[1]

The *Paramāla Rāso* contains an interesting account of this ruler but, as already stated, its authenticity is not beyond doubt. Besides alluding to his liberality and religiosity as well as to the general prosperity of the people during the reign, it states that Rāhila had reduced to ashes the cities of his adversaries and established his sway all over the earth, extending upto the ocean (*ā-samudra laga rāja....*). He is said to have invaded Rāmeśvara in the South with a vast host of two million horses and to have deprived the king of Siṁhala of one thousand ships (!). He is also given the credit of performing twenty sacrifices (*bīsa yajña visāla*) and of founding the city of Rasina or Rājavāsinī.[2] It is identical with 'the old town of Rāsin or Rasin....situated on the high road, leading from Banda to Kālañjara',[3] which still contains extensive ruins of ancient buildings.

The *Paramāla Rāso* also mentions the name of his queen Rājamatī,[4] and the Candella princess Naṭṭādevi married to the Kalacuri ruler Kokalla I and the mother of his successor Prasiddhadhavala might have been his daughter or sister.[5] It is evident from the records of the Kalacuris that they attached great significance to this alliance.[6]

The large tank near Mahoba, the Rāhilya Sāgara, and the fine granite temple on its bank still preserve the memory of Rāhila.[7]

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 142, vs. 21-24.
2. *P.R.*, II, 84-90.
3. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 15.
4. *P.R.*, II, 89.
5. Cf. *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 125, *A.I.K.*, p. 82.
   The suggestion that she was a daughter of Harṣa (*E.I.*, II, p. 304; *J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 652), does not seem to be correct.
6. *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 48, v. 8.
7. *P.R.* credits him with the construction of ten tanks.
   Beglar (*A.S.R.*, VII, p. 47) notes that one of the tanks in Ajayagadh fort was ascribed to Rāhila, whose name occurred on several stones of one of the temples there, but see *supra*, p. 15, n. 2.

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ŚRĪ HARṢA (c. 905-925 A.D.)

Rāhila was succeeded by his more famous son, Harṣa,[1] who is mentioned in several inscriptions of his successors, and according to some scholars also in the Banaras copper-plate inscription of the Kalacuri king Karṇa. These records, however, do not help us in reconstructing the political history of his reign. They only praise him in vague conventional phrases, or refer to his victories against unspecified enemies. Thus, the fragmentary Khajuraho inscription states that Harṣa 'by his own arm conquered many proud enemies (*bhuja-vijit-ānek dṛpt-āri-vṛndaḥ*)'.[2] Similarly, the Nanyaura plate of Dhaṅga tells us that he was 'a mighty comet boding evil to the host of his enemies' (*para-balasy-otpāta-ketuḥparaḥ*).[3] The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 refers to his desire for victory (*vijigīṣutā*),[4] while another epigraph from the same place styles him as '*ari-harṣa-jvara-haraṇa-maṇi*'.[5]

The only historical information that we possibly possess about his reign is contained in the fragmentary stone inscription found at Khajuraho which, unfortunately, is so much mutilated that not even a single verse has been left complete. If mentions Harṣadeva in the seventh line. The extant portions of the next two lines do not record any name, and the tenth contains the significant statement : '*punar-yena śrī-Kṣiti-pāladeva-nṛpatiḥ siṁhāsane sthā(pitaḥ)*'.[6] The relative pro noun *yena* might refer to Harṣa or to a successor of his, whose name might have occurred in the lost portion of the stone. Kielhorn believed that it referred to Harṣa, and his suggestion has been generally accepted.[7] It is also generally admitted

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 126, 131, v. 18; p. 142, v. 24.
   The Nanyaura C.P. of Dhaṅga (*I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 6 of text) shows that his name was Śrī Harṣa, and not merely Harṣa.
2. *E.I.*, I, p. 122, l. 7.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202, 203, l. 1.
4. *E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 19.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 142, v. 24.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 122.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 121-122; *H.O.K.*, p. 257, n. 1.
   Hoernle, however, believed that it referred to Harṣa's son Yaśovarman (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 654).
   As Yaśovarman was a contemporary of Devapāla of Kanauj (*Infra*, p. 46), his father might have been a contemporary of the latter's father Kṣitipāla,

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that Kṣitipāladeva of this record was a Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler of Kanauj. Kielhorn identified him with the homonymous ruler 'who in line 28 of the Siyadoni inscription[1] is mentioned as the immediate predecessor of the prince Devapāla, who was ruling (at Kanauj) in the (Vikrama) year 1005'[2] (A.D. 948). This prince has been further identified with Mahīpāla I, on the ground, among others, that *kṣiti* and *mahī* are synonymous terms.[3]

The fragmentary character of the inscription makes it difficult to grasp the real significance of the above-quoted passage, which lends itself to three possible interpretations, viz.,

(a) that Kṣitipāla-Mahīpāla had been defeated by Harṣa and was subsequently reinstated by him;

(b) that he had been defeated by a third party but was reinstated by Harṣa; and

(c) that he secured his accession to the throne with the help of the Candella ruler—there being no question of his restoration.[4]

Kielhorn and Smith suggested the first alternative. According to the former Harṣa 'first defeated Kṣitipāladeva, but subsequently reinstalled him in the government of his dominions'.[5] Likewise, the latter opined that 'Harṣadeva...defeated...king Kṣitipāla (Mahīpāla), and, before returning home, replaced him on his throne'.[6] Several inscriptions refer to wars between the Candellas and the rulers of Kanauj and there is no inherent improbability in the suggestion of the two scholars.

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 162 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 121.
3. Cf. *H.O.K.*, p. 257; *A.I.K.*, pp. 33-4, 83; *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 673, n. 2.
4. These alternatives are possible according to the interpretation of the word *punaḥ* as 'again', 'further' or 'besides' (Monier Williams' Sanskrit Dictionary, S.V. '*punaḥ*'). In the former case, the record would allude, in the words of Dr. Tripathi, to Mahīpāla's 'replacement after a temporary loss of kingly dignity', and in the latter it would simply 'introduce further details about the achievements of the Candella king'. The record must have mentioned some of his exploits in the portions that are now missing and stated that then or subsequently he installed Kṣitipāladeva on the throne.
5. *E.I.*, I, p. 122.
6. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 138.

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However, there is no positive evidence to support their contention.

The third alternative suggestion has been offered by Dr. Tripathi, who has shown, on the authority of the Bilhari stone inscription of the time of Yuvarāja II[1] and the Banaras grant of Karṇa[2] that Bhoja II, the step brother and predecessor of Kṣitipāla, probably owed his accession to the support of the Cedi ruler Kokalladeva I. He believes that Bhoja's enthronement must have proved unacceptable to Kṣitipāla who, 'therefore sought the support of the Candella king Harṣadeva as a counterpoise to the alliance between his rival and the Cedi ruler.... The Candella chief....at once took up his cause, and... signalised his intervention in imperial affairs by placing Kṣitipāla on the throne.....'[3]

Certain other scholars[4] also believe that the death of Mahendrapāla I was followed by a contest for the throne between Bhoja II and Kṣitipāla (Mahīpāla), whose causes were espoused, respectively, by Kokalla I and Harṣa Candella. However, there is little evidence to show that there was a war of succession[5] and, as shown below, Kokalla I might not have been a contemporary of Bhoja II.

We are also in possession of some evidence that would justify the second alternative. According to the Cambay plates of Govinda IV, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III completely devastated (*nirmmūlam-unmūlitaṁ*) the hostile city of Mahodaya (Kanauj).[6] This record, however, does not name the vanquished ruler of Kanauj. That information is supplied by the Kanarese poet Pampa, who tells us that Narasiṁha Cālukya, probably a feudatory of Indra III, 'plucked from the Ghurjararāja's arms the goddess of victory... Mahīpāla fled, as if stricken by thunder-bolts, staying neither to eat, nor rest, nor pick himself up; while Narasiṁha pursuing bathed his horses

1. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 210, v. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 241, v. 7.
3. *H.O.K.*, pp. 256-57.
   Cf. also, *H.O.G.P.*, pp. 89, 80-81.
4. *R.A.T.T.*, p. 101; *H.O.T.*, p. 4; *H.O.G.P.*, pp. 80-81.
5. Cf. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxiv; *A.I.K.*, p. 42, n. 89.
6. *E.I.*, VII, pp, 38, 43, v. 19.
   Indra invaded Kanauj sometimes between A.D. 915 and 918.

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at the junction of the Ganges'.[1] 'The reference to the confluence of the Ganges shows', according to Dr. Tripathi, that Rāṣṭrakūṭa-Cālukya forces had overrun the 'greater part of modern United Provinces [Uttar Pradesh], and advanced as far east as Prayāga'.[2]

Dr. Majumdar interprets the statement to mean that 'Mahīpāla fled from his capital, hotly pursued by his enemies', and that subsequently the Candella king Śrī Harṣa assisted him 'to re-establish his authority over the shattered kingdom'.[3]

Smith, too, who does not rule out the possibility of Harṣa and his Rāṣṭrakūṭa allies having defeated, 'dethroned and replaced king Kṣitipāla', concedes that 'it is more likely that the Candella king... came to the rescue of the Kanauj sovereign, and delivered him from the hand of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invader'.[4] Dr. Ray also shares the view that 'the vanquisher of the Kanauj monarch was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Indra III and not the Candella chieftain'. According to him, Harṣa 'does not appear to have indulged in any open acts of hostility to the imperial power'.[5]

Dr. Tripathi does not agree with the latter part of Dr. Majumdar's conclusions. In his opinion, the Khajuraho inscription 'does not refer to Mahīpāla's restoration, but merely to his accession to the throne with the help of the Candella prince'.[6] However, the fragmentary character of the record forbids dogmatising, and only fresh evidence would be able to solve this problem of the Candella and Indian history.

We are in no position to determine the precise or even approximate extent of Harṣa's dominions, though one of the

1. *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Pampabhārata* (ed. L. Rice), pp. 3-4.
2. *H.O.K.*, p. 260.
   'Some scholars...take the junction of the Ganges to be with the sea..., but this view is obviously wrong, for Mahīpāla's dominions did not extend upto the seashore, and there is no evidence that Indra III's expeditions brought him into conflict with his Pāla contemporary', *Ibid.*
3. *J.D.L.*, X, pp. 66-68; *A.I.K.*, p. 36; also, *Ib.*, p. 83 and *E.I.*, VII, pp. 30-33.
4. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 138.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 673, n. 2, & 672.
6. *H.O.K.*, p. 261.

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Khajuraho epigraphs would have us believe that he was the ruler of all the earth encircled by the ocean[1] (!). The same record also alludes to his imperial suzerainty and refers to the subservient (*praṇati-paramaiḥ*) princes (*bhūmipālaiḥ*) who bore his commands over their heads and came from great distance to render personal service (*sevāhetoḥ*) to their liege-lord.[2] Incidentally, we may also notice that so far as the extant inscriptions are concerned Harṣa is the first ruler of the Candella dynasty to have been given the imperial titles *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Parameśvara.*[3]

The available records also throw interesting light on the character and personality of this ruler. He is eulogised for his valour in several inscriptions. One epigraph describes him as 'a bridge across the ocean of the battle (*setuḥ saṅgara-vāridheḥ*)', and tells us that 'the prowess of this (prince)...was difficult to endure, like the brilliancy of the summer sun...'[4] Another alludes to his 'heroism and vigour' (*vikramaś-tejaḥ*);[5] and a third graphically describes the effect that the very sight of this prince on the battle-field, sword in hand, and with his eyes red, eye-brows contracted and face fierce with anger, produced on the enemies.[6]

The epigraphic evidence attests to his other qualities as well. The Nanyaura plate and a Khajuraho inscription refer to his munificence.[7] The former also describes him as 'a root of joy to the good (and) nectar for the eyes of his friends, (*ānanda-kandaḥ śatāṁ mitrāṇāṁ nayanāmṛtaṁ*)'.[8] The latter eulogises him for his wealth, eloquence, statesmanship, purity, goodness, inherent forbearance, contentment, modesty and dignity, and states that 'he...(was) afraid to offend against the law...unacquainted with wicked utterances, abashed when his

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 142, v. 26 :
   समुद्रपरिखां पृथ्वी पुरीं शूरेण रक्षिता ।
2. *Ibid.*, p. 142, v. 28.
   Cf. also, *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202-3, ll. 2-3.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 203, l. 6 (text).
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 202-3, ll. 1-2 (text).
5. *E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 19.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 142, v. 25.
7. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 202, l. 1 (text); *E.I.*, I, p. 126, v. 18.
   (Both the records compare him to *Kalpa-taru*).
8. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 202, l. 1 (text).

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own excellencies were being enumerated, void of caluminous speech (and) mute by birth to utter untrue words'.[1] Another Khajuraho record also praises him in a similar vein : he was free from all blemish, and avoided the company of the bad, wicked and licentious people. It also refers to his handsome personality, and tells us that he was born to provide contentment to his people, and a resting place to the wandering royal glory.[2]

The records also mention the name of his queen. The Khajuraho inscription of his son tells us that 'he...with due rites married a suitable (lady) of equal caste (*savarṇṇā*), named Kañchukā, sprung from the Cāhamāna tribe (*kula*)'. In devotion to her royal husband she is said to have surpassed even Arundhatī.[3] The Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅga also mentions Kañchukā, but does not disclose her lineage.[4] The prominent mention of this queen of Harṣa in the records of their descendants might suggest that her marriage had some political significance.[5] It is unfortunate that the inscriptions do not reveal the identity of the particular Cāhamāna family to which she belonged.

We have no dated records of Harṣa's reign but certain inscriptions furnish valuable synchronistic data. As already noted, a Khajuraho inscription establishes his contemporaneity with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Kṣitipāla or Mahīpāla I (c. 914-943 A.D.). If he is also identical with the *Citrakūṭabhūpāla* Harṣa mentioned in the Banaras grant of Karṇa, as believed by some scholars,[6] he must have ruled contemporaneously with Kokalla I Kalacuri and three other rulers viz., Bhoja, Vallabharāja and Śankaragaṇa.[7] However, as Kokalla

1. *E. I.*, I, pp. 126, 131-32, vs. 19-20.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 142, vs. 24-27.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 126, 132, vs. 21-22.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 143, vs. 29-30.
   This record eulogises Kañchukā as 'the jewel among women', 'the sole ornament of the world' and as the 'unique *satī*'.
   Dr. Ganguly believes that she belonged to the Cāhamāna family ruling in Mālava region, *A.I.K.*, p. 83.
5. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 673.
6. *E.I.*, II, pp. 301, 304, *H.O.G.P.*, p. 80, *H.O.T.*, p. 4, etc.
7. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 241, v. 7 :
   भोजे वल्लभराजे श्रीहर्षे चित्रकूटभूपाले ।
   शंकरगणे च राजनि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ।।

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flourished in the latter half of the ninth century,[1] he could not have been a contemporary of Mahīpāla I, nor of his Candella benefactor Harṣa. Bhoja of Banaras grant cannot be identified with Bhoja II who ruled in Kanauj between 908 and 914 A.D., probably from 910 to 912.[2] He should be identified with Bhoja I, whose reign period extended from 836 to 885 A.D.[3] Kings Vallabharāja and Śankaragaṇa, contemporaries of Kokalla I and Bhoja I, too, could not have reigned contemporaneously with Harṣa Candella.[4]

The identity of *Citrakūṭa-bhūpāla* Harṣa, who was 'granted freedom fear' by the Cedi ruler, with the homonymous Candella king is also doubtful. Kokalla must have died about two decades before the accession of the latter to the Candella throne. Moreover, as pointed out by Dr. Mirashi, Harṣa's authority could not have extended as far as Citrakūṭa, 25 miles to the north-east of Kālañjara which was captured only

1. Kokalla I has been placed by different scholars between 840 and 925 A.D. Cf. *A.S.R.*, IX, p. 103; *H.O.B*, I, p. 128; *C.I.I.*, IV, p. cxci; *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 745, 754; *A.I.K.*, pp. 86-7.
2. *H.O.K.*, Appendix F, p. 384.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 237; *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv; also *D.H.N.I*, II, pp. 754 and 1199; *A.I.*, p. 292; *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 387.
   Bhoja of Banaras grant is evidently identical with Bhojadeva—the unprecedented column of his fame set up by Kokalla in the quarter of Kuvera—mentioned in the Bilhari inscription (*C.I.I.*, IV, p. 210, v. 17).
   While Cunningham (*A.S.R.*, IX, pp. 84, 103), Kielhorn (*E.I.*, I, p. 253), Mirashi (*C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxiv), Majumdar (*H.O.B.*, I, p. 128), and Ganguly (*A.I.K.*, p. 86) identify him with Bhoja I, Altekar (*R.A.T.T.*, p. 101), Banerji (*H.O.T.*, p 4), Tripathi (*H.O.K.*, pp. 255-6), and Hoernle (*J.R.A.S.*, 1904, p. 651), preferred to identify him with Bhoja II. Ray is indecisive, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 754.
4. Vallabharāja of Banaras grant and Kṛṣṇarāja of Bilhari inscription are identical with Kṛṣṇa II Rāṣṭrakūṭa. He was the son-in-law of Kokalla I and ruled from c. 878 to 914 A.D. (*C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxii).
   Śankaragaṇa (c. 825-850 A.D.) is evidently the first ruler of that name mentioned in the Kahla plates of the Kalacuris of Sarayupāra. He was an ally of both Kokalla I and Bhoja I, receiving protection from the former and deputing his son to fight for the latter against the Pālas. He also received some territory (*bhūmi*) from Bhoja (*C.I.I.*, IV, pp. lxxv-vi; also *H.O.T.*, pp. 4-5).

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during the reign of his successor.[1] Harṣa of the Banaras grant may be the homonymous Guhila prince mentioned in the Chatsu inscription, who is said to have presented some horses to his suzerain Bhoja, evidently Bhoja I of Kanauj.[2]

The available evidence, though meagre and throwing scanty light on the events of his reign, tends to show that Harṣa 'was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors'. His judicious political and matrimonial alliances considerably strengthened his position and enhanced the prestige of his family. He was strong enough to participate actively in the affairs of Kanauj, and thus pave the way for the emergence of the Candellas as an imperial power in Northern India.[3]

1. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxv; also *A.I.K.*, p. 129, n. 3 and *I.H.Q.*, XIII, pp. 485-6.
2. *E.I.*, XII, p. 10 ff, v. 19.
   Also, *C.I.I*, IV, p. lxxv; *A.I.K.*, pp. 86, 109.
3. Dr. Puri credits Harṣa with carrying on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kosalas, Kasmiris, Mithilas, Mālavas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras and with the capture of Kālañjara (*H.O.G.P.*, p. 89). These, however, are the achievements of his son Yaśovarman.

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CHAPTER III

EXPANSION OF CANDELLA KINGDOM

YAŚOVARMAN (c. 925-950)

The important role played by Harṣa in the politics of Imperial Kanauj must have raised the prestige of his family and enabled his successor to follow a more ambitious policy of aggrandisement and territorial expansion.

Yaśovarman, also known as Lakṣavarman,[1] the son of Harṣa, and his Cāhamāna queen Kañchukā,[2] was a more substantial figure than any of his predecessors. The family records credit him with extensive conquests, and if we can believe them he would appear to have been one of the most prominent rulers of Northern India in the second quarter of the tenth century A.D.

No inscription of Yaśovarman's reign has come to light so far, but his achievements and personal accomplishments have been described very elaborately in the records of his successors, particularly in the Khajuraho inscriptions of his son.

The Nanyaura plate of Dhaṅgadeva makes a vague allusion to the conquests of Yaśovarman. It tells us that he 'scattered the host of the enemies as the sun does the mass of darkness', and that he was like 'an axe in cleaving the temples of his opponent's elephants'.[3] This record, however, does not specify the enemies who were overthrown by him. That information is supplied by the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 in the following verses which deserve to be quoted in full :

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 128, 133, v. 37.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-128, 132-133, vs. 21-23, 34; p. 143, vs. 29-31.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202-3, ll. 2-3 (text).

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'....that frontal ornament of princely families the illustrious king Yaśovarman...was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas as if they were pleasure-creepers, equalled the forces of the Khasas, (and) carried off the treasure of the Kosalas; before whom perished the Kaśmīrī warriors, who weakened the Mithilas (and) was as it were a god of death to the Mālavas; who brought distress on the shameful Cedis, who was to the Kurus what a storm is to trees, (and) a scorching fire to the Gurjaras' (v. 23).

'Free from fear, he impetuously defeated in battle the Cedi king whose forces were countless, who had put down his lotus-foot on rows of diadems of famous princes...' (v. 28).

'At the conquest of the regions, his soldiers gradually managed to ascend the slopes of the snowy mountain....' (v. 30).

'He easily conquered Kālañjara mountain, the dwelling-place of Śiva, which is so high that it impedes the progress of the sun at mid-day' (v. 31).

'The illustrious Lakṣavarman in his conquests of the regions made, equal to Indra, the daughter of Kalinda (Yamunā), and the offspring of Jahnu (Gaṅgā), one after another, his pleasure-lakes, encamping the forces of his army on either bank unmolested by any adversaries, (and rendering) their waters muddy by the bathing of his furious mighty elephants' (v. 39).[1]

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 126-128, 132-134 :

गौडक्रीडालतासिस्तुलितखसबलः कोशलः कोशलानां
नश्यत्कश्मीरवीरः शिथिलितमिथिलः कालवन्मालवानां ।
सीदत्सावद्यचेदिः कुरुतरुषु मरुत्संज्वरो गुर्जराणां
तस्मात्तस्यां स जज्ञे नृपकुलतिलकः श्रीयशोवर्मराजः ॥२३
उत्तुङ्गाञ्जनशैलसन्निभचलन्मत्तद्विपेन्द्रस्थित—
क्रुध्यद्दुर्द्धरधन्विमार्ग्गणगण प्रारब्ध रक्षाक्रियं ।
विख्यातक्षितिपालमौलिरचनाविन्यस्तपादाम्बुजं
संख्येसंख्यबलं व्यजेष्ट गतभीर्यश्चेदिराजं हठात् ॥ २८
गङ्गानिर्ज्झरघर्घरध्वनिभयभ्राम्यच्चतुरङ्गबजाः
सद्यः सुप्तविबुद्धकेसरिरवत्रस्यत्करीन्द्राकुलाः ।
यत्सैन्यैः प्रतिकल्पपादपमुमालूनप्रसूनोच्चयाः
प्रालेयाचलमेखलाः कथमपि क्रान्ताः शनैर्द्दंग्जये ॥ ३०

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It would appear from the verses cited above that Yaśovarman dominated practically the whole region of Northern India, extending from the Himalayas in the North and Kashmir in the North-West to the country of the Cedis in the South, and from Bengal in the East to Malwa in the West. But we do not know what credence should be attached to an apparently exaggerated statement of the royal eulogist. There are other contemporary rulers also who claim to have conquered the very same states which the Khajuraho inscription claims to have been conquered by the Candella king. Thus a *praśastikāra* gives the following account of the victories of the Cedi king Yuvarāja I:— 'Who fulfilled the ardent wishes of minds of the women of Gauḍa, who was a deer to sport on those pleasure-hills, the breasts of the damsels of Karṇāta (and) ornamented the foreheads of the women of Lāṭa; who engaged in amorous dalliance with the women of Kaśmīra (and) was fond of the charming songs of the women of Kalinga....upto the Kailāsa.... and upto the noble eastern mountain over which the sun shines forth, near the bridge of the waters, and as far as the western sea, too, the valour of his armies brought endless anguish on hostile people'.[1] Likewise, the Karhad plate claims for the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III that '(all) the feudatories from the eastern to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the Island of Siṁhala bowed to him out of fear of severe punishment...'[2] Such vague claims to *digvijaya* in our records practically mean nothing, and it is not always safe to accept their uncorroborated statements. It would be too much to assume that Yaśovar-

उच्चप्राकारभित्तिस्थित समदशिखिक्रूर...निनाद—
.....श्य.....रथतुरगप्राप्तवेगान्तरायः ।
यस्मिन्मध्यन्दिने स्यात्तर्णिरनुदिनं नीलकण्ठाधिवासं
जग्राह क्रीडया यस्तिलकमिव भुवः किञ्च कालंजराद्रिं ॥ ३१
धीरो दिग्विजयेषु केलिसरसीन्तीव्र प्रतापंदध—
निन्शेषद्विषदव्यथोभयतटीविन्यस्तसेनाभरः ।
मज्जन्मत्तकरीन्द्रपंकिलजलां श्रीलक्षवर्मामिध—
श्चक्रे शक्रसमः कलिन्दतनयाँ जन्होः सुतां च क्रमात् ॥ ३९

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 265; also *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 211, vs. 24, 27.
2. *E.I.*, IV, p. 284, v. 31.

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man, Yuvarāja I and Kṛṣṇa III simultaneously conquered all the states of Northern India.[1]

Much of the account of Yaśovarman's conquests as given in the Khajuraho epigraph may be 'mere *praśasti* and poetic exaggeration', and the expressions like '*Kośalaḥ-kośalānāṁ*' may seem 'rather to convey a desire on the poet's part to show his skill in punning than an historical sense', but it also contains some grains of truth. For instance, its assertion that Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjara is an unimpeachable historical fact. The place is included within the limits of the dominions—precisely defined in the same epigraph[2]—of his son Dhaṅga, who is also the first among the Candella rulers to have styled himself *Śrī-Kalañjarādhipati*.[3]

Unfortunately, the Khajuraho inscription does not indicate as to who possessed Kālañjara before it was conquered by the Candella king. The Barah copper-plate shows that it formed part of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire in A.D. 836.[4] The Karhad and Deoli epigraphs also indicate that it was part of the same empire at the time of the northern expedition of Kṛṣṇa III.[5] On the basis of these records, most of the historians believe that he had seized the famous stronghold from the king of Kanauj in the course of his northern expedition.[6] A confirmation of this assumption is sought to be found in an

1. Kṛṣṇa III came to throne in c. 939 A.D., the date of his Sorab inscription (*E.C.*, VIII, No. 476). Yuvarāja I whose daughter was married to his father (*I.A.*, XII, pp. 265, 268, l. 16) must have been his senior contemporary. He is also believed to have been the Cedi ruler—'an elderly relation of his mother and his wife'—defeated by Kṛṣṇa (*E.I.*, IV, pp. 284, 288, v. 25). Yaśovarman, who died sometime before 954 A.D., must have ruled contemporaneously with both of them at least for some time.
   The Khajuraho inscription certainly gives an exaggerated account of Yaśovarman's conquests. It is evident from what we know of the extent of his son's dominion, *Infra*, p. 63.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 129, 134, v. 45.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 7 (text).
4. *E I.*, XIX, pp. 15 ff.
5. *E.I.*, IV, pp. 284, 289, v. 30; *Ibid*, V, p. 124, v. 25.
   This expedition was undertaken by Kṛṣṇa during the reign of his father Amoghavarṣa (c. 935-39 A.D.).
6. Cf. *C.O.G.*, p. 4; *H.O.G.P.*, p. 90.

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inscription of Kṛṣṇa found at Jura[1] in Madhya Pradesh. It is further supposed that Yaśovarman seized the fort 'not from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, as was so long believed, but from the Rāṣṭrakūṭas'.[2]

In spite of the fact that this view has gained the support of such eminent historians as Drs. Altekar, Banerji, Ray, and probably also of Dr. Tripathi,[3] it appears that the evidence for such an assumption is rather slender and inconclusive. The Karhad and Deoli plates state that 'on hearing of the conquest of all the strongholds in the southern region simply by means of his (Kṛṣṇa III's) angry glance, the hope about Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa vanished from the heart of the Gurjara'.[4] Our *praśastikāras* are generally prone to exaggeration, and the statement may only mean that the Gurjara ruler became apprehensive of the security of the famous strongholds, rather than that he actually lost them. Further, the find of an inscription of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king in Jura does not necessarily imply the conquest of Kālañjara, for Jura is not quite close to the latter. It is located within the former Maihar State and is nearer to Baghelkhand than to Bundelkhand. Even today the two places are situated in separate states, Kālañjara in Uttar Pradesh and Jura in Madhya Pradesh. In the tenth century A.D. parts of Baghelkhand were included within the dominions of the Cedis,[5] who were very intimately associated with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas : epigraphs record no less than six marriages between the two families within three generations. There is another fact the significance of which cannot be missed : the Khajuraho epigraph, which names the various places and

1. *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, pp. 476 ff; *E.I.*, XIX, pp. 287 ff.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 674; *C.O.G.*, p. 4.
   Ray adds : 'The sudden emergence of the Candellas as one of the first class powers in the country south of Jumna may therefore be due partially to their success against these ruthless marauders of the Deccan'.
3. Cf. *R.A.T.T.*, pp. 113, 121; *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, pp. 476 ff; *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 589-90; II, p. 674; *H.O.K.*, pp. 267-68, 271.
4. *E I.*, IV, p. 284, v. 30; V, p. 194, v. 25 :

   .....दक्षिणदिग्दुर्गविजयमाकर्ण्य ।

   गलिता गुर्जरहृदयात्कालञ्जरचित्रकूटाशा ।।
5. Vide, Chandrehe (K.S. 724) and Gurgi inscriptions, *C.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 44 & 46.

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peoples conquered by Yaśovarman, mentions the Gurjaras, but not the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Their records also contain no allusion to the Candellas, and the assumption that Kṛṣṇa III lost Kālañjara soon after its conquest does not seem to be warranted by the known facts of his reign. There is not the faintest indication that his long victorious career was marred by a single reverse.

Dr. Nilakanta Sastri once suggested that Yaśovarman seized Kālañjara from the Pratīhāras with the aid of the Cedis and Rāṣṭrakūṭas. 'All hopes of its recovery entertained by the Gurjaras must have been blasted by the resounding success of Kṛṣṇa, the ally of the Candellas and Cedis. Kṛṣṇa might himself have aided Yaśovarman in the enterprise during the period of his stay at Tripurī in the reign of Govinda IV'.[1] However, we have no evidence to show that the Candellas, Cedis and Rāṣṭrakūṭas had formed an alliance against the Pratīhāras. The Candella records, which do not mention the Rāṣṭrakūṭas at all, show that the relations of Yaśovarman with the Cedis were far from cordial. Likewise, the Karhad plates indicate that Kṛṣṇa III had been fighting against the Cedis,[2] rather than helping them against the Pratīhāras.

Dr. Bose makes a novel suggestion. According to him Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa fell into the hands of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas when Kṛṣṇa III, in alliance with the Cedis, marched against the Pratīhāras about 940 A.D. 'As in A.D. 917, the Candella ruler came to the help of the Pratīhāra emperor.... The Pratīhāra ruler recovered his lost territories from the Kalacuri ally of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with the help of Yaśovarman, but at the cost of Kālañjara and Citrakūṭa, which Yaśovarman kept in his own possession instead of handing them over to the Pratīhāras'.[3] It is difficult to accept this suggestion. There is no evidence whatsoever of such collaboration between the Candellas and the Pratīhāras. In the present state of our knowledge, it is

1. *P.A.I.O.C.*, 1946, pp. 436-37.
2. *E.I.*, IV, p. 284, v. 25; also *R.A.T.T.*, pp. 113, 120. But see, *P.A.I.O.C.*, 1946, pp. 436-37.
3. *H.O.C.*, p. 32.

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not possible to determine with certainty the power from whom Yaśovarman seized Kālañjara.[1]

Yaśovarman not only captured Kālañjara, but he is also stated to have pushed his northern frontiers upto the Yamuna and the Ganga. This part of the statement of the Khajuraho epigraph is also confirmed by what we know of the limits of his son's dominions.[2] This northward expansion must have been at the cost of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. The invasion of Indra III Rāṣṭrakūṭa had already shaken their power, and we have already seen how Kṣitipāla (Mahīpāla I) owed his throne to the aid of Yaśovarman's father. The subsequent Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion under Kṛṣṇa III must have caused a further setback to their fortunes, while providing an opportune moment to the Candellas for aggrandisement.

The description of Yaśovarman as '*saṁjvaro Gurjarāṇāṁ*' indicates that he became a standing menace to the rulers of Kanauj and the territories of Kosalas, Kurus, Mithilas and Mālavas, which are stated to have felt the weight of his arms, were possibly included within the dominions of the latter. If the assumption that *Hayapati* Devapāla, the son of Heraṁbapāla, from whom the Candella king obtained an image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu),[3] is identical with the Gurjara-Pratīhāra king Devapāla[4] is correct, he must have been the ruler of Kanauj who suffered defeat at the hands of the Candella monarch.[5] Dr. D.C. Sircar's

1. Dr. Ganguly asserts that Yaśovarman conquered Kālañjara from the Pratīhāras (*A.I.K.*, p. 83). Vaidya believed that it 'was then in the possession of the Kalacuri Kings' (*H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 126).
2. *Infra*, pp. 63-4.
3. *Infra*, p. 53.
4. Cf. *E.I.*, I, p. 124; *H.O.K.*, pp. 257-58; *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 571 ff; *A.I.K*, pp. 83-84; *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 126; *I.A*·, XXXVII, p. 139.
   Drs. G.H. Ojha (*E.I.*, XIV, p. 180), B.N. Puri (*H.O.G.P.*, p. 96) & N.S. Bose (*H.O.C.*, p. 34) do not believe in the identity of the two Devapālas. According to Siyadoni inscription Devapāla, the son of Kṣitipāla, was ruling in 948-49 A.D. (*E.I.*, I, pp. 162-79).
5. Epigraphic evidence shows that at least four kings ruled in Kanauj contemporaneously with Yaśovarman and his father, viz., (1) Bhoja II, (2) Mahīpāla alias Kṣitipāla, alias Vināyakapāla, alias Heraṁbapāla, brother of 1, (3) Mahendrapāla II, son of 2, and (4) Devapāla, brother of 3, Cf. *H.O.K.*, pp. 255-72; *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 572-75.

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suggestion that Yaśovarman's Gurjara rival, from whom he also seized Kālañjara, belonged to a feudatory family ruling in Jhansi-Guna region,[1] does not seem to be well-founded. Neither do we have any record to show that Kālañjara had ever been in possession of that family nor do we have any evidence of its conflict with the Candellas, as we have in the case of the Imperial family ruling at Kanauj.

Yaśovarman's victory over the Cedi king, which is mentioned twice in the inscription, may also be a fact. His Cedi contemporary was Yuvarāja I[2] (c. 915-944 A.D.) who, as already noted, also claims to have made extensive conquests in the early part of his reign. His later years, however, were marred by a defeat at the hands of the Candella king,[3] who might have adopted an attitude of hostility towards the Cedis because of their collaboration with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invaders from the south.

Kośala, the treasures of which are said to have been carried away by Yaśovarman, has been identified both with Uttara Kośala[4] and Dakṣiṇa Kośala.[5] Uttara Kośala formed part of the Kanauj Empire, and the Candella king might have raided it in the course of his campaign against the Pratīhāras. But Kośala also signified the Upper Mahanadi Valley in this age. The Somavaṁśī kings ruling over the region between 10th and 12th centuries A.D. styled the mselves 'Kośalendra'.[6] Śiva-

1. *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 311.
2. Cf. *E.I.*, II, p. 301; *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. lxxxiii-iv; *A.I.K.*, p. 83.
   Dr. Ray is not sure of the identity of Yaśovarman's Cedi adversary. According to him, he might have been Bālaharṣa, Yuvarāja I or Lakṣmaṇarāja (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 760, n. 1 and pp. 675-6). However, the way the *Cedirāja* has been mentioned in the Khajuraho inscription indicates that he was not a weakling but a powerful potentate who had already defeated a number of rulers. That would justify his identification with Yuvarāja I.
3. Dr. Mirashi observes that Yaśovarman defeated the Cedi king not in the beginning, as suggested by Hiralal (*A.B.O.R.I.*, IX, p. 287), but towards the close of the latter's reign (*C.I.I.*, IV, pp. lxxxiii-iv).
4. *H.O.C.*, p. 37; *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 676.
5. *E.R.K.*, p. 48.
6. *E.I.*, XI, p. 186.
   Dr. Ganguly also believes that Yaśovarman came into conflict with the Somavaṁśī kings of Southern Kośala, who suffered defeat at his hands, *A.I.K.*, p. 84.

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gupta (c. 950 A.D.) of this dynasty must have been the contemporary of Yaśovarman.[1] The political ties between the Somavaṁśīs and Kalacuris might have prompted the Candellas to invade Dakṣiṇa Kośala but it could not have been anything more than a mere raid.

We are not in a position to judge the correctness of another statement in the Khajuraho epigraph viz., that Yaśovarman 'was a sword to (cut down) the Gauḍas...' At that time Gauḍa was under the sway of the Pālas, whose records do not refer to any encounter with the Candellas. As these records are mostly dated in terms of regnal years the identity of his Gauḍa contemporary cannot be determined with certainty. He may have been Rājyapāla or his successor Gopāla II.[2] The Bargaon pillar and Kurkihar image inscriptions of the time of Rājyapāla,[3] and the Bodhgaya and Nalanda stone image inscriptions of the reign of Gopāla II[4] probably mark a revival of the Pāla power in Magadha, which synchronised with the decline in the fortunes of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras. This westward expansion of the Pālas might have involved them into a clash with the rising power of the Candellas, for Dhaṅga, the successor of Yaśovarman, also claims victories against the rulers of Rāḍha and Aṅga.

Yaśovarman's invasion of Gauḍa does not appear to have resulted in territorial gains, but it certainly weakened the Pālas and led to the dismemberment of their empire. It is generally believed that it was the confusion caused by the Candella invasion that enabled the Kambojas to establish their sway in Northern and Western Bengal in the middle of the tenth century A.D.[5] The Bangad grant is referred to in support of this

1. *A.I.K.*, p. 145; *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 396; *I.H.Q.*, XX, pp. 76-82.
2. *H.O.B.*, I, p. 132; *D.H.N.I*, II, p. 676; *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 365.
3. *I.A.*, XLVII, p. 111; *J.B.O.R.S.*, XIV, p. 490 & XXVI, pp. 246-50.
4. *J.A.S.B.* (N.S.), IV, pp. 102-5 & pp. 105-6.
5. Alternatively, it is also possible that the Candellas sought to profit by the difficulties of their Gauḍa neighbour. However, their expeditions could not have been more than mere raids. None of their records claims possession of any part of Bihar or Bengal, though we meet with certain Gauḍa officials in the service of the Candellas. According to Dr. Ganguly 'Yaśovarman invaded the territories of (both) the Pālas and the Kambojas', *A.I.K.*, p. 84.

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view. In this record, Mahīpāla I claims to have recovered 'his paternal kingdom which had been snatched away through pride of prowess by people who had no claim to it (*bahu-darppād-anadhikṛta-viluptaṁ rājyam-āsādya pitryaṁ*).[1] Obviously, it indicates that a predecessor of his, possibly his father Vigrahapāla II or his grandfather Gopāla II, had lost certain portions of his dominions to an enemy, who is usually believed to have belonged to the Kamboja lineage.[2]

Mithilā was the other state in the eastern region that is stated to have felt the weight of Yaśovarman's arms. A criss-cross struggle had been going on for some time between the Imperial Pratīhāras and the Pālas for supremacy over Bihar. At the time of Yaśovarman's invasion Mithilā might have been an autonomous state or owed allegiance to one of the warring powers.

Towards the north, Yaśovarman is said to have invaded Kasmir, and the territories of the Khasas and Kurus. It would be too much to believe that he invaded Kasmir and the contiguous territory of the Khasas right across the dominions of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, but if the surmise of Kielhorn that he was married to a Gandhāra princess[3] is correct, his intervention in the affairs of those di tant states would not be altogther improbable. The Gandhāra origin of his queen is highly problematic, but if a fact, she must have been a Ṣāhī princess. Bhīmapāla (c 940-965 A.D.) should have been the Ṣāhī contemporary of Yaśovarman, as his successor, Jayapāla, was that of the latter's son, Dhaṅga. His coins have been mainly found in Kabulistan,[4] and Stein has also described him as the ruler of Gandhāra.[5] Kalhaṇa refers to matrimonial alliances between the Ṣāhīs and the rulers of Kasmir and Khasa states,[6]

It deserves to be noted that Yuvarāja I, the Cedi contemporary of Yaśovarman, and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja also claim to have conquered Bengal about this time.

1. *E.I.*, XIV, pp. 328, 331, v. 12. Dr. Bose believes that it 'probably refers to the success of the Candellas' (*H.O.C.*, p. 36).
2. *H.O.B.*, I, pp. 135-37.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 143-44, v. 37 and n. 54.
4. Cunningham, *Coins of Mediaeval India*, p. 64.
5. Stein, *R.T.*, I, p. 249, n. 177-78.
6. Cf. *R.T.*, VI, 176-78.

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which, however, did not prevent occasional hostilities between them.[1] It is quite likely that Yaśovarman assisted his Gandhāra relations against their neighbours and that the Khajuraho epigraph alludes to that incident. The first half of the tenth century A.D. constituted one of the most disreputable periods in the history of Kasmir, full of treachery and intrigue, when power was seized by certain powerful factions which made and unmade kings at pleasure. The resultant confusion undoubtedly invited foreign intervention.[2] Kalhaṇa, however, makes no mention of Yaśovarman's invasion of Kasmir.

According to Stein the Khasas were settled 'in a wide semicircle from Kistavar in the south-east to the Vitasta Valley in the west'.[3] The rulers of Rājapurī (modern Rajauri) and Lohara (modern Loharin) belonged to the same tribe. The Khasas had intimate relations with the neighbouring states. The Lohara chief Siṁharāja (c. 950 A.D.) was married to a daughter of Bhīmapāla Ṣāhī, while his own daughter Diddā was the queen of Kṣemagupta of Kasmir.[4]

Kuru country, the region round about Delhi, was certainly included within the empire of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[5] If Yaśovarman invaded this region it must have been a mere raid—probably in the course of his campaign against the ruler of Kanauj, or in the course of his campaign against Kasmir.

1. Cf. *R.T.*, V, 232-33; VI, 230.
2. 'Treacherous ministers,.....during sixty years from the year of the Laukika era 3977 (A.D. 901-02) onwards had robbed sixteen kings, from king Gopālavarman to Abhimanyu, of their dignity, lives and riches.....' Kalhaṇa laments "In this land, the rulers of which had conquered Kānyakubja and other (countries), the kings (now) maintained themselves by giving bills of exchange (*huṇḍikā*) to the Tantrins", *R.T.*, V, 266.
3. Stein identifies Khasas with the modern Khakha tribe 'to which most of the petty hill chiefs and gentry in the Vitasta Valley below Kasmir belong', *R.T.*, I, pp. 47-8, I, 317 n.
4. *R.T.*, I, 317; VI, 176-78 and Stein's notes thereon.
   Siṁharāja and his predecessor Chandurāja are believed to have ruled in Lohara contemporaneously with Yaśovarman, *A.I.K.*, p. 84; *D.H.N.I.*, II, 676.
5. According to Dr. Ganguly, the Tomaras of Delhi must have been in possession of Kurukṣetra about this time, *A.I.K.*, p. 84.

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Towards the south-west, Yaśovarman came into clash with the Mālavas, who must be identified with the Paramāras. The contemporary Paramāra ruler Sīyaka II, alias Harṣa, was following an expansionist policy,[1] and a conflict with the equally ambitious Candella ruler was inevitable. It is significant that Yaśovarman had placed the region bordering on Mālava in-charge of his son Kṛṣṇapa.[2]

The above discussions would show (making due allowance for the exaggerations of a court poet) that Yaśovarman must be credited with military successes over a wide range of territory. Whether the account of his *digvijaya* given by the author of the Khajuraho inscription is correct or not, there can be no doubt that he engaged in ambitious projects for increasing his dominions by launching schemes of conquests and aggrandisement.

He certainly seems to have created a lasting impression on the popular mind, poetically described by court poet Mādhava as follows : 'In the halls of princes, where sages dwell, (and) where good people meet, in the village, in the assemblages of the lowly, among the rows of shops of merchants, (and) where streets cross, where wanderers talk together on the road, (and) in the huts of the dwellers of the forest, everywhere everybody constantly from astonishment is loud only in praise of his excellencies'.[3] The inscription also gives us a graphic, though exaggerated, account of his vast armies, fiercely contested battles and personal valour.[4]

Yaśovarman, however, was not a mere soldier : the epigraphs also extoll him for his munificence, devotion to the Brāhmaṇas,[5] truthfulness and handsome personality.[6] One

1. *H.O.P.D.*, p. 40; *A.I.K.*, p. 95; *T.P.*, pp. 37-45.
2. *Infra*, p. 61.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 128-29; 134, v. 40 :

   आस्थानेषु महीभुजां मुनिजनस्थाने सतां सङ्गमे
   ग्रामे पामरमण्डलीषु वणिजां वीथीपते चत्वरे ।
   अध्वन्यध्वगसंकथासु निलयेरण्यौकसां विस्मया—
   न्नित्यं तद्गुणकीर्त्तनैक मुखराः सर्व्वत्र सर्वे जनाः ।।

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28; 132-33, vs. 26-28, 36.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 143, v. 32.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 132-33, vs. 25 & 29.

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record tells us that he outdid Sivi in charity by giving away 'crores and crores' of rupees in gift to the supplicants;[1] another would have us believe that he surpassed Karṇa in munificence, Yudhiṣṭhira in truthfulness, and Arjuna in valour. The panegyrist adds that if those eminent personages of the past 'were to be here again, they would.....bend down their faces, were they to see him here now'.[2] The following verse alludes to his riches as well as to the peace and tranquillity that prevailed within his dominions:—

त्रस्तत्रातरि तत्र भूभृति नृणां क्लेशाय शस्त्रग्रहः
कामं दातरि सिद्धकेलिसुमनस्तल्पाय कल्पद्रुमाः ।
वित्तेशः परमार्थबुद्धिविधुरस्वान्तोविलासी स चे—
दास्ये तस्य सतीन्दुरुत्वलवनप्रीत्यै दृशामुत्सवे ॥[3]

The reign of this king is also remarkable for its artistic activities, the best example of which has survived in the celebrated Lakṣmaṇjī temple at Khajuraho. It is a Vaiṣṇava temple of the *pañcāyatana* type, with an ancillary shrine in front of it, originally dedicated to Garuḍa. It is one of the most magnificent temples, remarkable for 'the boldness of its outline and the relatively high quality of its reliefs'. Its platform has also survived in a good condition, and the various mouldings and sculptured friezes with which it is decorated resemble those on the plinth of the temple itself. The sanctum enshrines a four-armed and three-headed image of Vaikuṇṭha (Viṣṇu) about four feet in height, and standing in a sumptuously carved *toraṇa* frame. Of the three heads of the deity, the middle one is human, the side ones being those of the Lion and the Boar respectively. If this is the image that was originally installed in the temple, an interesting history of it is furnished by the inscription now built into its entrance porch. The image of Vaikuṇṭha, we are told, was first obtained by the lord of Bhoṭa (*Bhoṭanātha*) 'from Kailāsa, and from him Ṣāhī, the king of Kīra (*Kīrarāja*), received it as a token of friendship; from him afterwards Heraṁbapāla obtained it for a force of

1. *Ibid.*, p. 143, v. 33.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27, 132, v. 24.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 127, v. 25.
   Cf., also, *I.A.*, XVI, p. 204, l. 3.

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elephants and horses, and (Yaśovarman himself) received it from Devapāla, the lord of horses (*Hayapati*), the son of Heraṁbapāla',[1] either as a gift or as a trophy of victory. The same record also contains a description of the temple—the 'charming splendid home of the enemy of the *daityas*, which rivals the peaks of the mountain of snow; the golden pinnacles of which illumine the sky, (and) on which groups of lotuses are wafted to and fro by multitudes of banners on high poles....'[2] The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1059 also, referring to the same shrine, states that Yaśovarman 'erected this dwelling... of Vaikuṇṭha...from which the charioteer of the sun, to save the wheels, turns away his chariot, because with its sharp spires shining like the autumnal moon, it pierces the Zodiac; and the golden dome of which always causes it to be taken for the sun, kissing with its orb the peaks of the mountain of snow'.[3] The latter inscription also credits him with the excavation of a big tank (*taḍāgārṇavaṁ*) which may be identical with one of the tanks situated in and around the village of Khajuraho.[4]

The same inscription mentions his queen Puppā (Puṣpā ?) Devī, born in an illustrious family, and compares her to such celebrities as Anasūyā, Arundhatī, Damayantī, Madālasā and Sacī. She was the mother of his illustrious son and successor Dhaṅgadeva.[5] Dudhai inscriptions reveal the existence of another son of his, named Kṛṣṇapa.[6]

Yaśovarman was one of the most remarkable rulers of his age. He grasped the opportunity provided by the steady dec-

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 129, 134, v. 43.
   The opening verse of the inscription also shows that it was the deity originally installed in the temple.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 134, v. 42.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 144, v. 39, n. 59.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 144, v. 38.
   The tank appears to have been named as Bailva *taḍāga*.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 144, vs. 40-41 :
   महावंशसमुत्पन्ना प्रसन्ना धारितावनी ।
   नर्म्मदेवाभवद्देवी पुप्पा तस्य महीपतेः ॥ ४०
   सदानसूया विहितागसेप्यसावरुंधती जीवितमप्युपासिता ।
   वभौ मदान्धान्दमयन्त्यनिन्दिता मदालसाभून्न पुनः कंथचन ॥ ४१
6. *Infra*, p. 65.

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line in the fortunes of the two great powers, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, in the middle of the tenth century to increase the power and prestige of his family. By following a vigorous militant policy, he not only posed a challenge to the Imperial Pratīhāras, but also made his weight felt by other contemporary powers in Northern India. To him, indeed, must be given the credit of making the Candellas a force to reckon with in Indian politics.

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CHAPTER IV

AT THE ZENITH OF POWER

DHAṄGADEVA (c. 950-1002 A.D.)

Dhaṅga, the son and successor of Yaśovarman, born to his queen Puppā (Puṣpā) Devī,[1] is undoubtedly the most remarkable ruler of his dynasty. His achievements not only established its claims to rank among the leading powers of Northern India but also paved the way for its future supremacy. We are fortunate in possessing a number of epigraphic records of his reign, and the information supplied by them is supplemented by the inscriptions of his successors, which refer to his achievements with justifiable pride.

Though these records shed welcome light on the history of Dhaṅga's reign, most of them merely contain vague allusions to his valour and victorious career. Thus, the Nanyaura copper-plate inscription characterises him as 'a fit dwelling for the goddess of victory (*pātraṁ jaya-śriyaḥ*), renowned in countless battles, valorous (above everything) by the blade of his sword (*vikhyātaḥ khaḍga-dhārā-parākramaḥ*)', and describes the pathetic condition of the wives of his adversaries.[2] Likewise, the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 tells us that his 'praise is sung by champions before whom the hosts of enemies are perishing in battle, (and) whose two feet are constantly worshipped with garlands, fallen down from the crowns of princes who bow down (before him)'.[3] The fragmentary Mahoba

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 144, vs. 40-42; p. 129, v. 44.
2. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 203-204, ll. 4-5.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 129, 134, v. 44.

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inscription, too, asserts that he 'caused the destruction of his enemies' (*vairi-bhaṅgaḥ*).[1]

Other records, however, are more precise, and profess to mention the enemies who were humiliated by Dhaṅga. According to verses 45 and 46 of the Khajuraho epigraph of V.S. 1059, the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Siṁhala and Kuntala presented themselves in his hall of audience (*āsthāna*), and listened humbly to the commands of his chamberlains. It further adds that he was 'so successful in his wars that the wives of the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga lingered in his prisons'.[2] In spite of obvious exaggeration, these verses suggest that, like his father, Dhaṅga also undertook a series of *digvijaya* campaigns, particularly in Eastern and Southern India.

Dhaṅga's eastern campaign may not be an idle boast. His father had already led an expedition to Gauḍa, and Dhaṅga also might have invaded Aṅga (Eastern Bihar) and Rāḍha (Western Bengal) from his base at Vārāṇasī. Eastern India had been passing through a period of great stress and strain since the death of Devapāla. The separate mention of Aṅga, Rāḍha and Gauḍa in the Khajuraho epigraphs suggests disintegration of the Pāla Empire[3]—a fact confirmed by other records also.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 218, 221, v. 17.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 145, vs. 45-46 :

देवलोकय कोशलेश्वरमितस्तूर्णं समाकर्ण्यता—
मादेशः क्रथनाथ सिंहलपते नत्वा बहिः स्थीयताम् ।
त्वं विज्ञापय कुंतलेन्द्र वदने दत्वोत्तरीयाँचलम्
तस्यास्थानगतस्य वेत्रिभिरिति व्यक्तं समुक्तं वचः ॥ ४५ ॥
का त्वं कांचीनृपतिवनिता का त्वमध्राधिपस्त्री
का त्वं राढापरिवृढवधूः का त्वमगेन्द्रपत्नी ।
इत्यालापाः समरजयिनो यस्य वैरिप्रियाणाँ
कारागारे सजलनयनेंदीवराणां बभूवुः ॥ ४६ ॥

The geographical terms mentioned in these stanzas are the names of well-known territorial units of ancient India, but most of them had ceased to be independent political units by the time of Dhaṅga.

3. Records of certain other dynasties also mention the component parts of the Pāla Empire as independent political units between IX and XI centuries, Cf. Sirur (*I.A.*, XII, p. 216, v. 6) and Karhad (*E.I.*, IV, p. 283, v. 15) copper-plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and Tirumalai inscription (*Ib.*, IX, pp. 232-33) of Rājendra Cola.

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The Bangad inscription of Mahīpāla I reveals the forcible occupation of his paternal kingdom by an usurper,[1] probably during the reign of a predecessor of his. It is generally believed that the usurper belonged to the lineage of the Kambojas, who had established their sway over northern and western Bengal during the second half of the tenth century. They quickly consolidated their position and laid claims to imperial status.[2]

Simultaneously, the Pālas lost control over eastern and southern Bengal also, where the 'Candras' had carved out an independent principality for themselves.[3] Political jurisdiction of the Pālas had been limited to eastern and southern Bihar only.

Dhaṅga took advantage of the decadence of the Pāla power and invaded Aṅga and Rāḍha. The king of Aṅga (*Aṅgendra*) who suffered defeat at his hands may be safely identified with the contemporary Pāla ruler.[4] Epigraphic evidence conclusively proves the inclusion of eastern and southern Bihar in the Pāla Empire during this period.[5] The king of Rāḍha humbled by Dhaṅga may have been a ruler of Kamboja dynasty. It was probably the defeat inflicted on the Kambojas by the Candella monarch that gave an opportunity to Mahīpāla I to reimpose his authority over northern Rāḍha. The foundation of an independent kingdom in southern Rāḍha, ruled by the Sūras, may have been another consequence of this defeat.[6]

1. *E.I.*, XIV, pp. 326, 330, v. 12.
2. Vide their Dinajpur pillar (*J.A.S.B.* (N.S.), VII (1911), p. 619) and Irda copper-plate (*E.I.*, XXII, pp. 155, 158, ll. 18-21, text) inscriptions.
3. Vide, *H.O.B.*, I, p. 135.
4. Two Pāla kings, Vigrahapāla II and Mahlpāla I ruled contemporaneously with Dhaṅga.
5. Pāla inscriptions have been found continuously in Bihar from the days of Nārāyaṇapāla to those of Mahīpāla I, Cf. *H.O.B.*, I, Appendix I, pp. 173-74.
6. According to the Tirumalai inscription of Rājendra Cola (*E.I.*, IX, pp. 232, 233), southern Rāḍha was ruled by king Raṇasūra and northern Rāḍha was probably in possession of Mahīpāla I in the first quarter of XI century. The latter must have recovered it from the Kambojas.

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Whatever might have been the effects of Dhaṅga's eastern campaign, it did not result in any territorial acquisition, nor did it 'undermine the recuperative power of the Pālas which soon became manifest in Mahīpāla's achievements'. It was the last occasion when the Candellas invaded Bengal. All their resources were subsequently absorbed in a life and death struggle against the Ghaznavid invaders.

As regards the South, the success claimed against Andhra, Kāñcī, Kuntala and Siṁhala is obviously an idle boast,[1] but Dhaṅga might have advanced beyond the Vindhyas and led an expedition against Kratha and Kośala (Dakṣiṇa Kośala). His father had already 'carried off the treasures of the Kośalas', and Dhaṅga might have made a fresh inroad in their territory. His Kośalan contemporary might have been Mahābhavagupta Janamejaya. Kratha is located in Vidarbha (Berar),[2] and the Candella king might have marched through it on his way to Kośala.

The Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman refers to another important achievement of Dhaṅga. It tells us that the Candella ruler 'having defeated on the battle-field the king of Kānyakubja (who had subdued ?) all princes, obtained exalted sovereignty'.[3] Dr. Ray observes : 'if true, this statement shows that the hegemony which the rulers of Kanauj so long enjoyed in Northern India was at last taken away from them by the Candellas...'.[4] The statement, however, should

It is not possible to determine the identity of the king of Rāḍha defeated by Dhaṅga. He may have been the contemporary Kamboja ruler, a predecessor of Raṇasūra (if any) or Mahīpāla I himself; Cf. *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 388.

1. Such powerful dynasties as the Colas, Western Cālukyas and Eastern Cālukyas of Vengi were ruling in Southern India in the second half of X century, and it would not have been easy for Dhaṅga to lead a successful campaign in that region.
2. De, N.L., *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, p. 104.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 197, 209, v. 3 :

   निखिल नृप यः कान्यकुब्जं नरेन्द्रं
   समरभुवि विजित्य प्राप साम्राज्यमुच्चैः ।
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 680.
   According to Dr. D.C. Sircar the statement only means that Dhaṅga 'became an independent monarch', *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 311.

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not be interpreted in that sense, for the ruler of Kanauj continued to be regarded as 'the chief of the princes of India' at least upto A.D. 1018.[1] Dr. Ray himself admits that 'the halo of imperialism still lingered over the brow of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras for at least some time after Dhaṅga's death'.[2] Very probably the inscriptional passage merely alludes to the practice of our ancient princes of assuming an higher designation or title after their success against an important rival. We have a well-known example of it in the case of Pulikeśin II Cālukya, who assumed the title of '*Parameśvara*' after defeating Harṣa.[3]

It is not easy to determine the identity of the Kanauj king who suffered defeat at the hands of Dhaṅga, but it may be guessed that the battle was fought for the sake of Gwalior, the possession of which is claimed by the Candella sovereign in one of his epigraphs.[4] The Sasbahu temple (Gwalior) inscription also shows that the famous fortress had been lost to Kanauj at this time, but it gives the credit for its conquest to the Kacchapaghāta prince Vajradāman. We are told that 'when by honest means he had put down the rising valour of the ruler of Gādhinagara, his proclamation-drum...resounded in the fort of Gopādri, conquered in battle by his irresistible strong arm'.[5] As the only known date of Vajradāman, viz., A.D. 977,[6] falls within the reign period of Dhaṅga, we may assume with Dr. Tripathi, that he 'was a local feudatory chief of the Candella ruler, whom he assisted in the conquest of Gwalior'.[7]

1. Cf. Utbi, *K.Y.(R.)*, p. 456.
   He adds: 'all (princes) submitted their neck in obedience' to the ruler of Kanauj and 'acknowledged his high rank and great power and dignity'.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 680.
3. Cf. *I.A.*, IX, p. 127: *Samara-saṁsakta sakalottarāpatheśvara Śrī Harṣavardhana parājayopalabdha parameśvar-āpara nāma dheyah.*
4. *Infra*, p. 63.
5. *I.A.*, XV, pp. 36, 41, v. 6.
   The ruler of Kanauj may be identified with Vijayapāla.
6. Vide, Gwalior fragmentary Jaina image inscription, V.S. 1034 (*J.A.S.B.*, XXXI, 1862, pp. 399-400). It gives him the title of *Mahārājādhirāja*, which was not inconsistent with feudatory status during this period as shown, for example, by the Rajor stone inscription of Mathanadeva, V.S. 1015 (*E.I.*, III, pp. 263 ff).
7. *H.O.K.*, p. 278.

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There is other evidence also to show that the ruler of Gwalior was a vassal of the Candellas about this period. The chief who commanded the famous stronghold when Mahmud invaded it (A.D. 1022) has been styled '*hākim*' (commandant) by Nizam-ud-din,[1] thereby suggesting his subordinate status. The rulers of Kanauj had already lost Kālañjara and the subsequent loss of the impregnable fort of Gwalior also must have seriously affected their position in Central India. Their loss was a gain to the Candellas.

As both the Candellas and the Kacchapaghātas claim to have conquered Gwalior from the ruler of Kanauj, the sequence of events has naturally led to a considerable divergence of opinion. The Rakhetra stone inscription shows that Gwalior was in possession of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras at least upto A.D. 942-43.[2] It must have been lost to the Candellas before A.D. 954. Vajradāman, too, claims to have captured it before A.D. 977. Dr. Ray assumes that Kacchapaghāta princes were feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras until Vajradāman made himself master of the fort of Gwalior by defeating a ruler of Kanauj. He further assumes that Vajradāman 'at first enjoyed some measure of sovereignty. But the rising power of the Candellas, which in Dhaṅga's reign reached the mountain called Gopagiri seems to indicate that he may have soon after acknowledged the hegemony of his more powerful eastern neighbour'.[3] We find it difficult to agree with the learned scholar. Gwalior had passed under the control of the Candellas before A.D. 954. As there is no evidence to show that it had been subsequently recovered by the Gurjara-Pratīhāras, it could not have been conquered by Vajradāman from Gādhinagarādhīśa after that date. Again, there is no proof that Kacchapaghātas had been feudatories of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras or had any relations with them before the conquest of Gwalior by Vajradāman. The same objections also apply to the views of

1. *T.A.(D).*, p. 14.
   K.Z.A., p. 79 styles him *Sālār* (commander). He may be identified with Kīrtirāja, probably a grandson of Vajradāman and a feudatory of Dhaṅga's grandson Vidyādhara.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1924-25, p. 168.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 822-23.

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Dr. Majumdar, who maintains that 'even Gwalior, which was a stronghold of the Pratīhāras...fell into the hands of the Candellas. A few years later the Kacchapaghāta chief Vajradāman conquered it after defeating the Pratīhāra Emperor'. He believes that 'Vajradāman had defeated both the Candella king Dhaṅga and his Pratīhāra overlord who also joined him in defending this stronghold'.[1] It is too much to believe that Dhaṅga was defeated by a petty upstart like Vajradāman or that the Pratīhāra Emperor had assisted the rebel feudatory in defending a fort which the latter had seized from him only a few years earlier. Kacchapaghāta records, too, do not claim any victory against the Candellas. In the present state of our knowledge, Dr. Tripathi's suggestion appears to be the most reasonable.[2]

Dhaṅga continued the struggle with the Cedis, which had commenced during the reign of his father. The conduct of the operations seems to have been entrusted to his younger brother Kṛṣṇa, the governor of the Dudhai-Vidisa region. His minister (*mantri*) Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati claims to have defeated a Cedi ruler and to have killed a Śabara chief named Siṁha.[3] Another chief who joined the Candellas in this war was Narasiṁha of the Sulki (Cālukya) family, who claims, in his Maser inscription,[4] to have 'initiated the wives of Kalacuri kings into widowhood' at the command of Kṛṣṇarāja.

The Cedi king who was defeated and perhaps slain in this war might have been Śaṅkaragaṇa III (970-980),[5] for whom we have nothing but conventional praises in the dynastic records.

1. *Ancient India*, p. 304.
   Cf. also, *A.I.K.*, pp. 38 & 85.
2. Dr. B.C. Sen also thinks that Dhaṅga conquered Gwalior from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras with the help of Vajradāman, whom he subsequently appointed to rule over it as his feudatory, *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 387.
3. Vide, Bhilsa fragmentary inscription : *Ced-īśaṁ samare vijity a-Śabaraṁ saṁhṛtya Siṁh-āhvayaṁ*, *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI (1862), p. 111, n. 2; *E.I.*, XXV, p. 279, n. 1.
4. *Annual Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State*, 1930-31, p. 10; *E.I.*, XXIX, pp. 18 ff.
5. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxxvii; *I.H.Q.*, XXXI, p. 108; *E.I.*, XXV, p. 280; *Sārdhaśatābdī Commemoration Volume of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, pp. 176-81.

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The Śabara chief may be identical wish the one mentioned in the Bargaon temple inscription.[1] Dr. Hall conjectured that he was the Cedian generalissimo,[2] but as the Bargaon inscription mentions a commander (*balādhikṛta*) of his own, Dr. Mirashi believes that he was a feudatory chief.[3] The Sulki family to which Narasiṁha belonged appears to have been ruling 'the small fief of Viḍadvādaśa and perhaps some territory round it'—somewhere in the present state of Madhya Pradesh. The Sulkis must have become vassals of the Candellas after their rise under Yaśovarman.[4]

Vācaspati, the minister of Kṛṣṇa, also intervened in the affairs of certain petty states on the borders of the Candella and Paramāra kingdoms. The Bhilsa inscription, mentioned above, states that he placed on their thrones the chiefs of Rālā *maṇḍala* and Rodapādi.[5] The identification of Rālā with Lāṭa appears to be conjectural, but Rodapādi may be identical with Ruḍapadi or Raḍupadi, the chief of which was defeated by the Paramāra king Sīyaka II.[6] It must have been 'somewhere near the eastern boundary of the Paramāra kingdom'.[7]

The fragmentary Mahoba stone inscription refers to another achievement of Dhaṅga in a passage the significance of which cannot be overlooked. Introducing Muslim invaders for the first time in the epigraphic records of the dynasty, it tells us that Dhaṅga 'by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Haṁvīra, who had proved a heavy burden for the earth'.[8] As pointed out by Hultzsch, 'Haṁvīra or Haṁbīra is a further corruption of Hammīra, the sanskritized form of (the Arabic word) Amir....'.[9] Amir was one of the titles adopted

1. *Ibid.*, p. 176; *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 278-81.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI (1862), pp. 111-2, n. 2.
3. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 279.
4. *I.H.Q.*, XXXI, p. 107.
5. *Rālā-maṇḍala-Rodapādy-avanipau bhūmyāṁ pratiṣṭhāpya ca*; *Sārdhaśatābdī Commemoration Volume of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, p. 176; Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, II, p. 221.
6. *Navasāhasāṅkacarita*, XI, 89.
7. *T.P.*, pp. 41-42.
8. *E.I.*, I, pp. 218, 221, v. 17:

   सारेण यः स्वभुजयोर्भुवनातिभारं हंबीरमप्यतिबलं तुलयांचकार ।
9. *Ibid.*, p. 218.

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by the Yamini sultans of Ghazni,[1] the founder of which principality, Alptigin (A.D. 963) and his successors, Abu Ishaque (A.D. 963-966), Bilaktigin (A.D. 966-975), Pirey (A.D. 975-977), Subuktigin (A.D. 977-997), Ismail (A.D. 997) and Mahmud (A.D. 998-1030)[2] ruled contemporaneously with Dhaṅga (c. 954-1002 A.D.). There is a general consensus of opinion among modern historians that Haṁvīra referred to in the Mahoba epigraph was identical with Subuktigin,[3] the first among the Ghaznavids to have invaded India. The relations between him and the Candella ruler have been discussed in the next chapter.

Most of the records contain vague and exaggerated accounts of the extent of Dhaṅga's dominion. They describe him as the 'sole ruler of the earth', who 'by his arms....firmly established his upright rule over the earth' and 'who held unrivalled sway over the whole earth encircled by the ocean'.[4] But one of the Khajuraho epigraphs defines precisely the 'earth' over which he ruled. According to it, he ruled over 'the earth, playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms, as far as Kālañjara and as far as Bhāsvat, situated (?) on the banks of the river of Mālava; from here to the banks of the river Kālindī, and from here also to the frontiers of the Cedi country and even as far as that mountain called Gopa which is the unique abode of marvel'.[5]

This passage giving the precise limits of the dominion of the Candella king is unique in the annals of Indian epigraphs. In

1. Cf. Lanepool, *Mohammadan Coins*, p. 18.
   Kalhaṇa has also given this title to Mahmud, Vide, Stein, *R.T.*, I, pp. 270-71.
2. *L.T.S.M.G.*, Appendix N.
3. *Infra*, p. 86.
4. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 6 (*eka-mahīpatau.....*); *E.I.*, I, p. 129, v. 44 (*sva-bhuja prasādhita mahonirvyājya rājya*); *Ib.*, p. 146, v. 55 (*rakṣttvā kṣitimaṁbu-rāśi-raśanā*).
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 134, v. 45 :

   आकालजरमा च मालवनदीतीरस्थिते भास्वतः
   कालिन्दीसरितस्तटादित इतोप्या चेदिदेशावधेः ।
   आ तस्मादपि विस्मयैकनिलयाद्गोपाभिधानद्गिरेर्यः
   शास्ति क्षितिमायतोर्जितभुजव्यापारलीलार्जितां ।।

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the North, it was bounded by the Yamunā; in the South it touched the frontiers of the Cedi kingdom; and extended from Kālañjara in the North-east to Vidisa and Gwalior in the South-west. When we compare 'this comparatively modest specification of the boundaries' with the vague claims of his father to suzerainty from Kasmir to Bengal, and from the Himalayas to Malwa, we have to agree with Dr. Ray that 'it has the appearance of being based on fact'.

Other evidence is also available to corroborate the statement of the Khajuraho inscription. We have already seen that Dhaṅga's father had taken possession of Kālañjara. The Nanyaura plate (A.D. 998), which styles Dhaṅga *'Kālañjarādhipati'*,[1] also testifies to its possession by him. Kielhorn has rightly located *'Mālava-nadī-tīra-sthite Bhāsvataḥ'* in modern Bhilsa (Vidisa) on the Vetravatī (Betwa).[2] A copper-plate of a successor of Dhaṅga issued from his camp near that town (*Bhailasvāmī-samip-āvāse*)[3] proves its inclusion within the Candella kingdom, the extent of which upto the Betwa is also proved by the Deogadh inscription of Kīrtivarman.[4] To describe Kālindī (Yamunā) river as forming the boundary of Dhaṅga's dominion cannot be wrong : his father had already made 'the daughter of Kalinda and the offspring of Jahnu...his pleasure lakes'. It is also confirmed by another Khajuraho epigraph which tells us that Dhaṅga 'entered into beatitude' by abandoning his body at the holy confluence of the Jāhnavī and the Kālindī.[5] Similarly, the possession of Vārāṇasī on the Gaṅgā is confirmed by his Nanyaura plate, which refers to a grant made by him while encamped at Kaśikā.[6] The extension of his territory upto the frontiers of the Cedi *deśa* does not require any proof.

1. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 7 (text).
2. *E.I.*, I, p. 124.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, l. 10 (text).
4. *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 237-39.
5. *Infra*, p. 70.
6. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203. l. 8 (text).
   However, the Candellas could not retain it for long. The Sarnath inscription of the time of Mahīpāla may suggest its occupation by the Pālas in V.S. 1083, A.D. 1026 (*I.A.*, XIV, pp. 139 ff), while Baihaqui shows that it was in possession of 'Gaṅg' (Gāṅgeyadeva Kalacuri) in A.D. 1034 (*E.&D.*, II, p. 123).

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There is ample evidence to show that these two states were coterminous—often allied to each other, but more often fighting among themselves. *Gopābhidhāna-giri* is certainly identical with Gwalior, which, as we have already seen, was acquired by Dhaṅga himself from the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj. It is true that no inscription of the Candellas has yet been discovered in Gwalior, but there is no doubt that the Kacchapaghāta family ruling there was feudatory to them. The possession of the two strongholds of Kālañjara and Gwalior must have considerably strengthened their position in the region of the Vindhyas. No significance, however, need be attached to the claim of Dhaṅga that all this territory was 'playfully acquired by the action of his long and strong arms'. The royal *praśastikāra* in eulogising his hero only belittles the achievements of the latter's predecessors. Dhaṅga assumed the title of *Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati*, but he appears to have retained his capital at Khajuraho,[1] adding to its magnificence by the construction of a stately temple of Śiva and other edifices.

Dhaṅga, who was blessed with a long span of life, must have had a large family, but very little is known of it. The extant records preserve only the names of his son Gaṇḍa who succeeded him to the throne, and of his younger brother Kṛṣṇa or Kṛṣṇapa (Kaṇhapa). The latter was the governor of the South-western provinces of the kingdom, extending at least from Dudhai in the north to Bhilsa (Vidisa) in the south. He is mentioned in four epigraphs discovered at Dudhai in Lalitpur district (U.P.). They describe him as the son of Mahārājādhirāja Yaśovarman of Candella *anvaya*,[2] held to be identical with Dhaṅga's father.[3] Dr. Mirashi also identifies Kṛṣṇapa of the Dudhai records with Kṛṣṇa-nṛpa of the Bhilsa and Kṛṣṇa-rāja of the Maser inscriptions,[4] referred to above.

1. Khajuraho continued to be the capital even during the reign of Vidyādhara, *T.K.* (Bulak), IX, pp. 115-16 (Vide, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 679).
2. Six short records of Devalabdhi, the son of Kṛṣṇapa and Asarvā were discovered at Dudhai. Four of them mention Kṛṣṇapa, *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 236-7.
3. Cf. *Ibid.*; also, *A.S.R.*, X, pp. 94-95, etc.
4. *Sārdhaśatābdī Commemoration Volume of Asiatic Society of Bombay*, pp. 176-81; *I.H.Q.*, XXXI, pp. 105-8; *E.I.*, XXV, p. 280. Mr. Venkataramayya, however, proposes to identify Kṛṣṇa of these

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It may be urged against the proposed identification that while Kṛṣṇa is styled 'king' in the Bhilsa (Vidisa) and Maser inscriptions, he is not given any title, except the honorific 'Śrī' in the Dudhai records of his son. However, this objection cannot be sustained in view of the evidence furnished by a fragmentary epigraph from Jhansi (now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow) which not only mentions Dhaṅga's younger brother Kaṇhapa, but also gives him the title of *nṛpa*.[1] A further statement that he 'founded a city which was his capital (*rājadhānī*)' would support the suggestion that he was ruling over a part of the Candella kingdom, in the capacity of a governor or a feudatory of his brother.

The dominions of Dhaṅga extended upto Vidisa and he might have placed the frontier region in charge of his brother, from where he was carrying on hostilities against the Cedi and Paramāra neighbours.

Our records also mention the names of certain officials who served under Dhaṅga. The most important of them was the Prime Minister (*Māntri Mukhya*) Prabhāsa, who belonged to a distinguished Brāhmaṇa family of Gautam *gotra*, which had served the Candellas for several generations with great distinction and devotion. According to the Mau epigraph, he was 'highly expert in the abstruse conduct of politics'. The record also eulogises him for his knowledge, eloquence, virtuous conduct and devotion to religion.[2] One of the Khajuraho inscriptions mentions Yaśodhara 'the priest (*purodhā*) of the royal household', who was also 'directing the administration of justice (*dharmmādhikaraṇa anuśāsati*)'.[3] As pointed out by Kielhorn, he is almost certainly identical with the Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara, who figures as a donee in the Nanyaura copper-plate

records with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, *E.I.*, XXIX, pp. 18 ff; *J.O.R.*, XXII, pp. 56 ff.

Dr. Mirashi also believes that the dilapidated 'Kṛṣṇeśvara' temple at Maser, mentioned in a pilgrim's record of V.S. 1039 (A.D. 982) discovered by Mr. Garde on one of its pillars, was named after Dhaṅga's brother, *E.I.*, XXV, p. 280.

1. *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, p. 94.

Dr. Chakravarti also identifies Kaṇhapa of Jhansi record with Kṛṣṇapa of Dudhai records.

2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 199, 204, vs. 18-22.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 56.

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of Dhaṅga.[1] The latter record shows that he was the son of Bhaṭṭa Jayakumāra, who belonged to the Bharadvāja *gotra* and was a follower of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā*. His family, which had originally belonged to Tarkārikā, had settled at Dūrvvāharā.[2]

Dhaṅga could not only conquer but he could also consolidate and build an empire on sound basis. The Nanyaura copper-plate, which refers to 'the majesty which he has acquired by his government' (*sāsan-ārjita pratāpa*), eulogises the virtue of his administration as follows:—

भंगोन्तः पुरिकालकेषु सुरतक्रीडासु केशग्रहः
काठिन्यंकुचयोर्भ्रुवोःकुटिलता चन्द्रे कलंकस्थितिः ।
स्वाच्छन्द्यं कविवाचि कैरववने मित्रोदयेद्वेषिता
यस्मिन्नेकमहीपतौ कदलिकाकांडेषु निःसारता ॥[3]

He must have been greatly assisted in the task of administration by his celebrated Prime Minister Prabhāsa, in respect of whom it is said in the Mau epigraph that 'the tree of government which had struck very firm roots...was made to grow by being sprinkled with the water of his policy...'.[4] His administrative system, like that of Aśoka, was based on paternal conception. The king's love for his people finds expression in such phrases as '*janān-janapada-priyaḥ*', '*janānanda-kṛtaḥ*', as well as in his wish that 'the people may obtain happiness (*prajā prāpnotu nirvṛtiṁ*)'.[5]

Dhaṅga was even greater as a man.[6] The records, which praise him for his good conduct (*saccaritraṁ*), devotion to law,[7] spirit of sacrifice (*tyāga*), discernment (*viveka*), intelligence (*prajñā*) and love for fine arts (*kalā-vilāsa*), sum up with the statement that his conduct 'created in the minds of well-dis-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
2. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 203, 204, ll. 9-10.
3. *Ibid.*, ll. 5-6 (text).
4. *E.I.*, I, pp. 199, 204, v. 22.
5. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 203, l. 11 (text); *E.I.*, I, p. 129, v. 44; *Ib.*, v. 49.
6. A Khajuraho inscription actually describes him as '*narottama*', *Ib.*, p. 145, v. 43.
7. Cf. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 203-4, l. 11 (text)—*dharmavatsalaḥ*; *Ib.*, l. 14—*krama-varttinaḥ*, etc.

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posed people the belief that the Kali age had, out of season, come to an end'.[1] References to his majesty (*pratāpa*), glory (*vibhava*) and valour (*vikrama*) are many. The Viśvanātha temple inscription gives to this '*samara-jayina*' king the epithet of *ripocchettā*.[2] The same record also compares him to Kṛṣṇa and Nṛsiṁha in respect of the destruction of his enemies, and refers to his widespread fame.[3]

An instance of his munificence is preserved in the Nanyaura copper-plate which records the grant of the village named Yulli (Culli ?) to the Brāhmaṇa Bhaṭṭa Yaśodhara on the occasion of a lunar eclipse.[4] The patronage to learning of this 'one friend to the learned' (*budhaika-suhṛdah*) is also evidenced by the Khajuraho epigraph which mentions that he got settled at his capital Brāhmaṇas devoted to their duties (*ṣaṭ-karmmābhi-ratāḥ*), by providing them with money, grain, cows, land and dwelling houses high like the peaks of Kailāsa.[5] The poets Mādhava and Rāma who, respectively, composed the two Khajuraho *praśastis*, certainly belonged to his court. The former whose 'spotless fame as a poet wise men filled with rapture, celebrate in tales', was the son of the grammarian (*śabdānuśāsana-viduḥ*) Dedda.[6] The latter was the son of Balabhadra, who was well-versed in scriptures, and grandson of *kavi-cakravartī* Nandana. He was a scion of the Sāvara (Śabara ?) family resident at Tarkkārikā and styles himself '*sāhitya-ratnākara*'.[7] The Khajuraho *praśastis* themselves furnish proof of their poetic genius.

The extant buildings at Khajuraho also bear witness to the

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 129, 134, v. 46.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 145, vs. 46, 43.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 145, vs. 43-44, 47.
4. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202-4.
   Dhaṅga is also credited with having performed the *tulā-dāna* (*hāṭaka koṭīranena tulyitvā*, *E.I.*, I, p. 146, v. 52).
5. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 53.
   The *praśastikāra* further states that though the country of eternal beatitude was to the north of the Himalayas, the Brāhmaṇas selected by Dhaṅga had found to the south of it, a place where all their wishes were fulfilled. *Ib.*, v. 54.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 129, 134, v. 47.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 146, vs. 57-58.
   The royal priest Yaśodhara's family also belonged to Tarkkārikā, which must have been an important centre of learning in those days.

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remarkable artistic activities of the reign of Dhaṅga. An inscription informs us that he had erected there a magnificent temple in which two *liṅgams* were installed, one of emerald (*marakata-maya*) and the other of ordinary stone (*aśma-maya*). The *praśasti* describes the temple as follows :

तेनायं शरदभ्रशुभ्रशिखरः श्रीधंगपृथ्वीभुजा
प्रासादस्त्रिदशप्रभोर्भगवतः शंभोः समुत्तम्भितः ।
यस्याभ्रंकषकालधौतकलसप्रान्तस्खलत्स्यंदनो
मेरोः शृंगमतुंगमेव मनुते चित्रीयमाणोऽरुणः ॥

and asserts that its *toraṇa* (gate-way) was a creation of Viśvakarmā himself, who had entered into the body of the architect.[1] This edifice has been identified with the temple of Viśvanātha, near which the epigraph was discovered by Captain Burt in 1838. Undoubtedly, it is one of the most well-preserved and lavishly ornamented temples at Khajuraho. The inscription has also immortalised the name of the architect, Chicchā, variously styled as *vijñānin, viśvakarttā, sūtradhāra* and *dharmādhāra*.[2] The *liṅgams* installed in the temple were named Pramathanātha and Marakateśvara. The emerald *liṅga* has, unfortunately, disappeared.[3]

The temple of Jinanātha which contains an inscription of A.D. 954 was probably also built during the reign of Dhaṅga,[4] as also the temple of Vaidyanātha recorded in an epigraph of A.D. 1001 to have been built by Kokalla of the Grahapati family.[5]

Dhaṅga was a devotee of Śiva (*paramamāheśvara*). He constructed a magnificent temple of his patron deity in his capital, and died meditating on him. But he was not a narrow-minded sectarian. He got completed the temple of Vaikuṇṭha, the construction of which had begun during the reign of his father, and extended his patronage to the Jaina Saint Pāhilla.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 145-46, vs. 48-51.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 60.
3. It is stated to have been originally procured by Arjuna and worshipped by Yudhiṣṭhira.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 147 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 136, ll. 3-5 (text).

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This remarkable ruler was also blessed with an unusually long span of life. He lived for more than a century (*jīvitvā śaradāṁ śataṁ samadhikaṁ*), and the religious bent of his mind is evidenced by the fact that he thought it fit to end his earthly life at the holy confluence of the Ganga and the Yamuna. The poet has graphically described the scene as follows :

रुद्रं मुद्रितलोचनः स हृदये ध्याञ्जपन्जाह्नवी ।
कालिंद्योः सलिले कलेवरपरित्यागादगान्निर्वृतिं ॥[1]

Thus passed away one of the most remarkable rulers of mediaeval India, after having reigned for about half a century. Dhaṅga not only expanded and consolidated his paternal kingdom, but also played a leading role in contemporary politics. His achievements paved the way for the Candellas to wrest the prestige so far enjoyed by the Imperial Pratīhāras.

GAṆḌADEVA (c. 1002-1015 A.D.)

Gaṇḍa occupied the throne after the death of his illustrious father.[2] We have not been able to recover even a single inscription of this ruler so far, but his name and achievements figure in the following records of his successors:—(1) Mahoba fragmentary stone inscription, (2) Mau stone inscription of the reign of Madanavarman, (3) Ajayagadh rock inscription of the time of Kīrtivarman, and (4) Ajayagadh rock inscription of the reign of Bhojavarman.

These records extoll Gaṇḍa for his victories and deeds of valour, without giving any concrete instance of the same. Thus

1. *Ibid.*, p. 146, v. 55.
For the merit of such a death at Prayāga, see *Padma Purāṇa*, I. 44. 12-14 :

जलप्रवेशं यः कुर्यात् सङ्गमे लोकविश्रुते ।
राहुग्रस्तो यथा सोमो विमुक्तः सर्वपालकैः ॥
सोमलोकमवाप्नोति सोमेन सह मोदते ।
षष्ठिवर्षसहस्राणि षष्ठिवर्षशतानि च ॥
स्वर्गलोकमवाप्नोति ऋषिगन्धर्व सेवितः ।
परिभ्रष्टस्तु राजेन्द्र समृद्धे जायते कुले ॥

Cf. *J.U.P.H.S.*, X (I), pp. 65 ff.

2. *E.I.*, I, p. 197, v. 4; p. 221, v. 19.

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the Mahoba inscription describes him as 'an ornament of the earth' (*avani-maṇḍanaṁ*), and 'an unrivalled hero (*ekavīraḥ*)', who bore all the parts of the earth on his arms' (*bhuja-dhṛt-ākhila-bhūmikhaṇḍaḥ*); and refers to the 'fierce fire of (his) wrath' ((*caṇḍakopa*...),[1] which, we might expect the writer to say, consumed his adversaries. Similarly, the Mau epigraph tells us that he was a 'ruler of the earth in the four quarters' (*caturant-āvanīśvaraḥ*), and an 'expert in annihilating enemies whose massive arms were terrible through the itching of pride'.[2] Likewise, we learn from the Ajayagadh *praśasti* that he was 'invincible in battle' and the 'unique ornament of the circle of princes (*nṛpati-maṇḍala-maṇḍan-aikaṁ*), 'the primeval Gadādhara, as it were, whose abode is imperishable' (*devaṁ-Gadādharaṁ-iv-ācyuta-vāsamādyaṁ*).[3]

These records, which tell us so little about the king himself, are more informative about some of his ministers. The two Ajayagadh epigraphs, Nos. 3 and 4 above, mention one Jājuka, who belonged to a Vāstavya Kāyastha family which had played a very prominent role in the history of the Candellas. This person, who was appointed by Gaṇḍa 'to superintend at all times the affairs (of the State),'[4] is said to have bestowed on him 'the sole lordship of the earth' (*ekātapatraṁ jagatī patitvaṁ*),[5] and his services were rewarded with the gift of the populous village of Dugauḍa. Jājuka was a very learned man, 'to whom, even while he was in his mother's womb, quickly fled the fourteen sciences and all the arts together' (*vidyā-ś-catur-daśa kalāḥ sakalāḥ*).[6] The Mau inscription reveals that the Brāhmaṇa Prabhāsa who was appointed to the post of the Chief Minister (*Mantri Mukhya*) by Dhaṅga continued in that high office even during the reign of his successor. 'The tree of

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 221, v. 19.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 203, v. 4.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 336, vs. 6-7.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 333. v. 6 : सर्वाधिकार करणेषु सदानियुक्तः ।
5. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 90, v. 6.
6. *Ibid* , I, pp. 333, 336, vs. 5-7. The other Ajayagadh record also tells us that Jājuka was well-versed in *Kalā, Purāṇa, Āgama, Dharmaśāstra* and *Sāhitya*, *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 90, v. 5.

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government which had struck very firm roots, when it was made to grow by being sprinkled with the water of his policy, always bore to those two kings the fruit of the three objects of life'.[1]

Gaṇḍa lived in very critical times, when the invasions of Sultan Mahmud were at their full swing. The Ṣāhi king Ānandapāla had appealed to the rulers of Hindustan for assistance and among those who had responded to his call was the king of Kālañjara. The latter prince, whose forces had marched to Peshawar and shared the defeat with the other members of the confederacy in A.D. 1008, may be identified with Gaṇḍa. Ten years later, Mahmud invaded Kanauj, the premier state of Northern India, but its ruler Rājyapāla deserted his capital and sought safety in flight. The Candella ruler, whose name has been variously given as 'Bīdā' or 'Nandā' by the mediaeval historians, marched his forces against Rājyapāla to punish him for his craven conduct. Most of the modern historians believe that 'Nandā' is a mistake for Gaṇḍa, but Dr. Ray has shown that the correct reading of the name should be Bīdā (and not Nandā), which stands for Vidyādhara. Gaṇḍa had succeeded a centenarian and possibly he did not remain on the throne for a long time. If Dr. Ray's supposition is correct, his reign must have terminated sometimes before A.D. 1018-19. We have no evidence from Indian sources, too, that it was Gaṇḍa who attacked and slew the Kanauj king, as we have in the case of his son.[2]

We have no means of ascertaining the exact limits of Gaṇḍa's dominion, but he does not appear to have suffered any loss, and must have continued to rule over the extensive territory that he had inherited from his father.

If Vindhyadeśa mentioned in *Dvāśraya Mahākāvya* (VII. 79-142) can be identified with Jejākabhukti, Gaṇḍa may have been one of the unsuccessful suitors for the hand of the Naddula princess Durlabhadevi who married the Cālukya king Durlabha (c. 1009-1018).

1. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 199, 204, vs. 21-22.
2. *Infra*, pp. 76, 89-90.

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VIDYĀDHARA (c. 1015-1036 A.D.)

Vidyādhara, the son and successor of Gaṇḍa,[1] was one of the most remarkable rulers of his age, but, strangely enough, not even a single inscription of his reign has been discovered so far. We are indebted to the epigraphic records of his successors for all the information that is available about him from the Candella sources. We also find an interesting reference to him in the Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta prince Vikramasiṁha (V.S. 1145) and in the accounts of Muslim chroniclers.

Most of the epigraphic records, however, do not yield any information of historical significance. They eulogise Vidyādhara for victories against unspecified enemies, or vaguely allude to his suzerain authority in a conventional manner. Thus the Mau inscription, which compares him to the divine ruler Vāsava (Indra), states that his 'beautiful lotus-feet took rest on the diadems of all kings without exception.'[2] It also describes his government as 'one to which all the rulers of the earth were rendered for ever tributary, so that it surpassed all others on earth'.[3] Likewise, the Deogadh epigraph tells us that his 'lotus-feet were bowed down to by crowds of princes'.[4]

The Mahoba record, which also figuratively refers to Vidyādhara's spoliation of his enemies,[5] is the only Candella epigraph which throws light upon his relations with the contemporary powers. We learn from it that 'Bhojadeva, together with Kalacuri-candra, worshipped, full of fear, like a pupil, (this) master of warfare, who had caused the destruction of the king of Kanyākubja'.[6]

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 197, v. 5; pp. 219, 221, v. 21.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 197, 203, v. 5.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 199. 204-5, v. 24 :
   क्रमाद्राज्यं विद्याधरनरपतेर्न्नित्यकरदी–
   कृताशेषोर्व्वीशं व्यधित भुवि सर्व्वातिशयितं ।।
4. *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 238, 239, v. 1.
5. *E I.*, I, p. 221, v. 21 :
   रिपुयशः कुसुमाहरो भूद्विद्याधरोनृपतिः ।
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 219, 222, v. 22 :
   .....विहित कन्याकुब्ज भूपाल भङ्गम ।
   समरगुरुमुपास्त प्रौढभीस्तल्पभाजं सहकलचुरिचंद्रः शिष्यवद्भोजदेवः ।

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Bhojadeva has been generally identified with the homonymous Paramāra sovereign,[1] but there is no unanimity among modern scholars in respect of the sequence of events leading to his conflict with Vidyādhara. According to Dr. Ganguly, Bhoja turned his arms against the northern states after the completion of his southern expedition, but he found it difficult 'to carry out his military operations freely....until the forces of Vidyādhara had been shattered. This led him to attack the Candella kingdom, but with no very favourable results.' Undaunted by this reverse, Bhoja continued to cherish the ambition of conquering Kanauj, and secured the alliance of Abhimanyu, the Kacchapaghāta prince of Dubkund, which proved to be 'a great asset... in securing the success of (his) military operations'.[2] But Kīrtirāja, the other Kacchapaghāta prince who held sway over Gwalior, obstructed his advance and inflicted a severe defeat on the Paramāra ruler.[3]

Thus, according to Dr. Ganguly, Bhoja's wars against Vidyādhara and Kīrtirāja were two independent events, unconnected with each other. However, it is difficult to believe that a petty chief like Kīrtirāja inflicted a crushing defeat on a powerful monarch like Bhoja. He must have been operating on behalf of, and with the assistance of, Vidyādhara,[4] and his victory must have been achieved before Gwalior was besieged by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1022. It is also unlikely, though not impossible, that Abhimanyu, the son of a loyal feudatory of Vidyādhara, allied himself with his inveterate foe, Bhoja Paramāra.

Dr. Ray, too, believes that 'the victory claimed by Kīrtirāja ...was probably gained with the assistance of his sovereign, the Candella Vidyādhara'.[5] But the statement in the Dubkund

1. *Ibid.*, p. 219; also, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 689; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143.
2. *H.O.P.D.*, pp. 103-6; also *I.P.*, pp. 84-5.
3. *I.A.*, XV, p. 36, v. 10.
4. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 825.
   Dr. R.C. Majumdar believes that Vidyādhara defeated Bhoja (*A.I.*, p. 331). However, there is no evidence to show that there was a direct conflict between them. The Paramāra records, too, do not refer to it.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 870; also pp. 824-25.
   Cf. also *E.R.K.*, p. 83.

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inscription about Abhimanyu that 'since....the illustrious Bhoja has widely celebrated the skill which he showed in his marvellous management of horses and chariots, and in the use of powerful weapons, what sage in the three worlds would be able to describe the qualities of this prince who put to flight haughty adversaries by the fear inspired by the mere sight of his umbrella',[1] may not be necessarily suggestive of his subservience to Bhoja, as Dr. Ray thinks.[2] On the contrary, it may contain a veiled allusion to his superior valour which even the great Paramāra could not withstand. Arjuna might have died sometimes after the war against Rājyapāla of Kanauj, leaving his son to fight for Vidyādhara against the Paramāras.

There is no unanimity about the identity of *Kalacuri-candra*, too. Hultzsch and Ray identify him with Kokalla II,[3] and Vaidya and Ganguly with his son Gāṅgeyadeva.[4] Dr. Mirashi, too, upholds the latter view, on the basis of the Mukundpur stone inscription of K.S.772 (A.D. 1019), which indicates that 'in the beginning of his reign', Gāṅgeyadeva, 'occupied a comparatively subordinate position,...indicated by the modest titles *Mahārha-mahā-mahattaka* and *Mahārāja*' given to him in that epigraph. According to him, he must have been subservient to Vidyādhara at that time.[5]

As already stated, Dr. Ray and Ganguly interpret the statement in the epigraph to refer to the aggressive designs of Bhoja, successfully countered by Vidyādhara. On the other hand, Vaidya believed that 'probably Bhoja and Gāṅgeya... were leagued with him (Vidyādhara) in the task of opposing the Turks and driving them out of middle India where they must have remained to assist and overawe Rājyapāla.... It appears very probable that noted Hindu kings of the time led

1. *E.I.*, II, pp. 233 & 237-8, ll. 17-18 (text).
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 831.
3. *E.I.*, I, p. 219; *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 689-90; also *S.F.E.*, p. 58.
4. *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 177; *H.O.P.D.*, p. 104, n. 1.
   But see *S.F.E.*, p. 58, where Ganguly identifies him with Kokalla II.
5. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxxix, and pp. 234-35.
   Dr. Mirashi has rightly rejected the suggestion of Prof. Hodivala (*S.I.M.H.*, p. 146) that *Kalacuri-kula-candra* is identical with Kokalla II, whom the latter identifies with king Kulacandra who defended Mahāvana against Mahmud of Ghazni, *Ibid.*, n. 2.

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by...Vidyādhara attacked the Kanauj king.... Probably both Bhoja and Gāṅgeya merely sent contingents in this war which acted under the orders of Vidyādhara'.[1] Recently, Dr. Mirashi has also suggested that Bhoja and Gāṅgeya might have fought under the leadership of the Candella monarch against the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Emperor.[2]

The Kanyākubja bhūpāla whose destruction had been brought about by the Candella ruler can be recognised with greater amount of certainty. The Dubkund inscription of the Kacchapaghāta prince Vikramasiṁha tells us that his great grand-father, Arjuna, 'anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharadeva, (had) fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla, with many showers of arrows that pierced his neck-bone'.[3] We get a curious confirmation of this episode in the writings of Muslim chroniclers who reveal that Rājyapāla, killed in a battle against Vidyādhara in A.D. 1019, was the ruler of Kanauj.[4]

The Candella rulers had identified themselves in a remarkable manner with the national struggle waged against the Ghaznavid invaders. Both Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa had boldly championed the cause of the Ṣāhi kings Jayapāla and Ānandapāla when they had been hard pressed by the invader, and Vidyādhara himself had promised aid to the latter's son Trilo-

1. *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 177.
2. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. lxxxix.
   Disagreeing with Mirashi, Dr. Pratipal Bhatia observes that as 'an ambitious and powerful king like Bhoja could have hardly relished the idea of playing the second fiddle to Vidyādhara...it is perhaps the victory of the Kacchapaghāta prince (Kīrtirāja) assisted by Vidyādhara over Bhoja, perhaps allied with Gāṅgeyadeva, that has been referred to in the Mahoba inscription', *T.P.*, p. 84.
   Both the Paramāras and the Kalacuris had been hostile to the Candellas, but circumstances might have forced them to accept the leadership of Vidyādhara.
3. *E.I.*, II, p. 237, l. 15 (text) :
   श्री विद्याधरदेव कार्यनिरतः श्री राज्यपालं हठात्कंठास्थिच्छिदनेक-बाणनिवहैर्हत्वामहत्याहवे ।
4. *Infra*, pp. 88-9.
   Smith, however, states incorrectly that 'Vidyādhara continued the hereditary war with Kanauj, at that time under the rule of Trilocanapāla', *I.A.*. XXXVII, p. 143.

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canapāla for the recovery of his lost heritage. It was the same patriotic motive that impelled him to reproach Rājyapāla, the premier ruler of Hindustan, for his pusillanimity. That, however, developed into a war between the two in which the ruler of Kanauj lost his life.[1]

This success must have considerably enhanced the prestige of Vidyādhara and, if we may believe Ibnul-Athir, 'his fame spread throughout India'. Simultaneously, it also 'added to (his) mischief and refractoriness'.[2] Mahmud set out from Ghazni in the autumn of A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019-20) to punish him, either for his audacity in killing one 'whom he regarded as his feudatory' or for his presumption in promising assistance to one of his inveterate foes, Trilocanapāla Ṣāhi. Vidyādhara marched out from Kālañjara, at the head of a vast army, to meet the invader, but according to Muslim historians he behaved no better than the ruler whom he had, only recently, punished for cowardice. He is reported to have fled from the battle-field under cover of darkness, leaving his elephants and baggage to be captured by the enemy.

Vidyādhara had to retreat discomfitted, but he was not crippled. Consequently, Mahmud led another expedition against him three years later in A.H. 413 (A.D. 1022-23). Gwalior capitulated and Kālañjara was besieged. The Candellas offered stubborn resistance and the siege dragged on for a 'considerable time', till their king sued for peace on terms which were readily accepted by Mahmud. Vidyādhara must have realised that the Sultan was not going to stay on in India and that any prolongation of the struggle would only spell ruin for his people and his territory. Consequently, he must have thought it prudent to end the war by a show of submission. Mahmud, too, must have realised the risk involved in a prolonged stay at a place far away from his base. He must have also seen that Kālañjara was not an easy nut to crack. The seven forts of Kanauj had capitulated in the course of a single day, but he had not been able to storm this fort after a long siege. That alone would explain his leniency to the Candella ruler. Vidyādhara

1. Whatever the motive that led Vidyādhara to attack Rājyapāla, he was certainly not actuated by the sordid motive of self-aggrandisement. Rājyapāla's kingdom was inherited by his son (?) Trilocanapāla.
2. *T.K.*, Bulak, IX, pp. 115-16, Vide, *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 604-5.

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might have suffered in reputation but he was able to retain his power and territory almost unimpaired.[1]

The Mau inscription reveals the name of a minister (*saciva*) of this king. He was the Brāhmaṇa Śivanāga, 'in understanding and wide sacred knowledge like Dhiṣaṇa...whose might could not be endured by the hosts of enemies in battle'. He is said to have made 'all the rulers of the earth' tributary to his sovereign.[2] The Kacchapaghāta prince Arjuna appears to have been one of his feudatories.

Vidyādhara has been given the usual titles, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* in the two copper-plates of Devavarman,[3] and we have an interesting reference to his skill at poetical composition in the *Kitab Zainul-Akhbar* and *Tarikh-i-Firishta*.[4]

Vidyādhara was undoubtedly the most remarkable ruler of his age. The Muslim chroniclers describe him as 'the greatest ruler of India in territory, (possessing) the largest army', which inspired fear even into the mind of Mahmud. His claim to greatness, however, does not rest so much on conquests and aggrandisement as on the gallant part he played in organising resistance to the Ghaznavid invader. His reign marks the zenith of the power of the Candellas who emerged as the greatest power in Northern India after the collapse of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra Empire. The sphere of his influence was much wider than the extent of his dominions.

1. Cf. Smith : the Candella kingdom 'was not again attacked by the Mohammadans until a hundred and eighty years had elapsed, and Gaṇḍa's successors were left free to manage their own affairs', *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 199, 204, vs. 23-24.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, l. 1 (text); *E.I.*,.XX, p. 127, l. 1 (text).
4. *Infra*, p. 95.

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CHAPTER V

THE CANDELLAS AND THE YAMINIS

During the reign of Dhaṅga and his two successors the country was confronted with a serious danger. The Muslims had conquered Sind in the first quarter of the eighth century and in spite of the vigorous resistance of the Ṣāhis, they had been steadily advancing in Afghanistan. Kabul fell to them in 870 A.D. It is true that their attempts at expansion into the plains of India had been checked, but it is also true that Indian rulers had failed to dislodge them from their new acquisitions. One wonders if the task was really beyond the combined strength of the various *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirājas* who shared India between them at the time, but their somnolence, parochial outlook and mutual jealousies stood in the way. If the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Kanauj were inimical to the Arabs, their age-long rivals, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of the Deccan, were not averse to help them.

The Arab invasion had sounded the warning, but Indian potentates failed to take note of it. They were no better prepared when the Turks of Ghazni knocked at their gates more than a century later. The independent principality of Ghazni had been founded in A.D. 963 by Alaptigin, a Turkish slave of the Samanids, but it was his remarkable slave Subuktigin who showed the way to India. He had been tinkering at the Indian frontiers during the reigns of his predecessors,[1] and when fortune brought him to the throne of Ghazni in A.D. 977, he 'turned his face unto the sacred warfare with the

1. *T.N.(R.)*, I, p. 73, n. 7; *T.F.(B.)*, I, p. 9.

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infidels of Hindustan',[1] an act of sheer aggression, unprovoked by any manifestation of hostility on the other side.[2]

The Ṣāhi kings, the guardians of the North-Western approaches to India, took up the challenge in no faltering spirit. They had gradually lost their extensive dominions in the Kabul valley, but even at this period they ruled over an extensive territory extending in length from Sirhind to Lamghan, and in breadth from the kingdom of Kashmir to Multan.[3] Jayapāla, the contemporary Ṣāhi chief, considered by Minhaj-us-Siraj to have been 'the greatest of the Raes of Hind',[4] valiantly struggled against heavy odds, but at last finding the task beyond his limited resources, he appealed to the neighbouring rājas for assistance. We learn from Firishta that the rulers of Delhi, Ajmer, Kālañjara and Kanauj nobly responded to the call of duty and assisted him with men and money.[5]

Thus reinforced Jayapāla once more marched towards Ghazni with 100,000 horse, besides a large number of elephants and foot soldiers.[6] The Indian army appeared to the enemy 'like an immense ocean' or 'like a host of innumerable ants and locusts'.[7] However, the battle that ensued once again demonstrated 'the futility of an unmanageable crowd' when opposed to a small but disciplined soldiery. Subuktigin's superior generalship was the other factor that decided the

1. *K.Y.*(*R*)., p. 23.
2. The sanguinary nature of his raids is evident from the following statement of Utbi : 'He proceeded to the country of the infidel traitor, and wheresoever he came he plundered and sacked the country until it was annihilated. He dug up and burnt down all its buildings and killed those deceivers and infidels, carrying away their children and cattle as booty. He made the territory of Lamghan, which had been the most populous and flourishing of all that country, entirely stript and bare . . . and, destroying their temples, their sacred buildings and their churches , built mosques in their stead, making the light of Islam visible, *K.Y.*(*R*)., pp. 39-40.
3. *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 15.
4. *T.N.*(*R.*), I, p. 82.
5. *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 18.
6. Most of the authorities agree that Jayapāla's army consisted of 100,000 horse (Cf. *K.Y.*(*R.*), p. 40). To this Nizam-ud-din adds 'many elephants' (*T.A.*(*D.*), p. 3) and Firishta 'an innumerable host of foot' *T.F.* (*B.*), I, p. 1).
7. *Ibid*,, p. 18; *K.Y.*(*R.*), p. 41.

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issue. The Indians are said to have been routed and were pursued with great slaughter to the banks of the Indus. None of the authorities has preserved the date of this battle, which, according to Firishta and Nizam-ud-din, was fought in the neighbourhood of Lamghan. Smith's suggestion that it took place in A.D. 990, or possibly in 991, may be correct.[1]

In spite of the assertion of Utbi that 'from this time the Hindus drew in their tails',[2] Jayapāla, undaunted by this reverse, continued the struggle valiantly.[3] However, he suffered another severe defeat in A D. 1001 at the hands of Subuktigin's successor, Mahmud,[4] and was taken prisoner.[5] Preferring death to a life of disgrace, he abdicated the throne and ended his life on a pyre.[6] The mantle now fell on the

1. *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, part I, p. 275. In *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 140, however, he says that the battle took place in A.D. 989, 'somewhere between Bannu and Ghazni, probably in the Kurmah (Kurram) valley'. Ray also believes that this battle was fought in the Kurram Valley between Lamghan and Ghazni (*D.H.N.I*, I, pp. 596-97). Elliot locates it near the Lamghan Valley 'or more probably in the Valley of Jalalabad' (*E. & D.*, II, p 436); Cf. also *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 127; III, pp. 26-8. For details of this battle, see *T.N.*(*R.*), I, p. 74; *T.F.* (*B.*), I, pp. 18-19; *T.A.*(*D.*), I, pp. 3-4; *K.Y.*(*R.*), pp. 40-42.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 42.
3. The spirit animating Jayapāla is revealed in the message that he is reported to have sent to Subuktigin after having been defeated by him on one occasion : 'You have heard and know the nobleness of Indians, how that, in seasons of extremity, they fear not death or destruction. They run the edge of the sword over those who wrong them, when there is no means of escaping the blade. In affairs of honour and renown we would place ourselves upon the fire like the roast meat, and upon the dagger like the sunrays . when the crocodile (of extreme distress) arrives and the wish for safety becomes a (frustrated) desire, then we shall throw, all that pertains unto us...alive and dead, into the fire....and afterwards kill ourselves so that nothing but dust and ashes will remain', *K.Y.*(*R.*), pp. 37-38.
4. Mahmud succeeded his father in A.D. 997 after a short fratricidal war. Two years later when the Caliph honoured him with the titles of *Amin-ul-millat* and *Yamin-ud-daulah*, he is said to have taken a solemn vow to wage the Holy War against the infidels of India every year (*E. & D.*, II, p. 24).
   But see Nazim, *L.T.S.M.G.*, p. 86, n. 3.
5. *T.N.*(*R.*), I, p. 82; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 37; *K.Y.*(*R.*), pp. 281-82.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 283; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p.38.

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worthy shoulders of his son, Ānandapāla, who too, fared no better than his father. Mahmud was bent upon liquidating the Ṣāhis as they blocked his advance into rich plains of India. Realizing the danger, Ānandapāla 'sent ambassadors on all sides inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindustan', when the Sultan marched against him from Ghazni at the end of the rainy season of 1008 A.D. We are again indebted to Firishta for the information that the rājas of Ujjain, Gwalior, Kālañjara, Delhi, Kanauj and Ajmer volunteered to assist him. They 'entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces advanced towards Punjab with the greatest army that had yet taken the field'. It appears from the same source that a political and religious fervour had seized the rājas of Hindustan, 'who now considered the expulsion of the Mahomedans from India as a sacred duty'.[1] In the words of a modern historian they 'could not fail to recognize the importance of Ānandapāla as a buffer between them and the aggressive kingdom of Ghazni. So long as the struggle had been waged beyond the Indus, they could afford to look unconcerned....but now the deluge had reached their sacred frontier'.[2] A breeze of ardent nationalism seems to have swept over the country calling its men to arms. Even the Gukkurs and other warlike tribes of the frontier did not lag behind and joined the national confederacy in large numbers. This patriotic fervour was not confined to the ruling and warrior classes alone. Firishta tells us that Hindu women 'sold their jewels and melted down their golden ornaments to furnish resources for the war'.[3] Their poorer sisters worked feverishly at the 'spinning wheel or as hired labourers to be able to send something to the men of the army'. The situation was poignant with all that urges a people to

1. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
   Nazim points out on the authority of Utbi that the Indian forces were placed under the command of Brahmanapāla, a son of Ānandapāla (*L.T.S.M.G.*, p. 89). Smith (*I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 141-42) also mentions Brahmanapāla, but Vaidya (*H.M.H.I.*. III, p. 18) thinks that it is a 'misreading for Trilocanapāla'. In *E.H.I.*, p. 397, however, Smith says that Vīsaladeva of Ajmer was the supreme commander of the Hindu forces. According to Firishta, Ānandapāla himself commanded the allied forces, *E. & D.*, II, p. 447.
2. Habib, *S.M.G.*, pp. 26-27.
3. *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 46; *E. & D.*, II, p. 447.

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patriotic and heroic deeds. The safety of their religion and culture, of their hearths and homes, and, above all, their independence itself was at stake.

There is a difference of opinion among the mediaeval historians with regard to the site of the battle that followed. Utbi says that it was fought on the banks of the Wamund or Wahind (Indus ?), while according to Firishta the two armies 'arrived in sight of each other on a plain on the confines of the province of Peshawar'.[1] All accounts, however, agree that the battle was fiercely contested. Fortune seemed to be favouring the Indians when there happened an incident that has often turned the tide of a battle. 'On a sudden, the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindus rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naphtha balls and the flight of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic amongst the Hindus who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled'. A general rout ensued and the Mahomedans pursued the flying columns for two days and nights, killing 20,000 of them.[2] This unfortunate defeat broke the back-bone of the Indian resistance and worse still, demoralization seems to have set in within its ranks. Humiliating terms were forced upon Ānandapāla, but it was only after his death (A.D. 1013) that Mahmud ventured into the smiling plains of India beyond the Sutlej.

Smith did not doubt the veracity of Firishta's statement that the rājas of Northern India had organized a joint front to resist the aggressive designs of the Yaminis.[3] Some of the modern historians, however, are more sceptical. Dr. Ray, for

1. *K.Y.(R.)*, p. 340; *T.F.(B.)*, I, p. 46.
   According to Smith, the battle took place on the Indus, not far from Ohind (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 141). The Attock and Rawalpindi Gazetteers, however, place it in the plain of Chachh on the east of the Indus (vide, *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 49).
2. For an account of the battle, refer to *T.F.(B.)*, I, pp. 46-47; *K.Y.(R.)*, pp. 340-41.
   Utbi does not refer to the flight of Ānandapāla's elephant.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, pp. 275-277; *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 140-41; *E.H.I.*, p. 397.
   Vaidya (*H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 44) and Nazim (*L.T.S.M.G.*, pp. 30, 89), though sceptical of the veracity of Firishta, do not rule out the possibility of concerted opposition offered by the Indian rulers.

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instance, states '...it is perhaps reasonable to doubt the accuracy of this historian of the 17th century. In later times Mahmud was regarded as a champion of Islam, and it is not impossible that Firishta has exaggerated the amount of opposition which faced Mahmud. At any rate, there is no evidence outside Firishta that this common danger galvanized the Indian states of Northern India into common action.' In support of this contention, he points out that the existence of such a confederacy is not known to the contemporary historians. 'The names of these princes', he says, 'are not found in the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*. But what is more significant is that even the contemporary 'official history' of Utbi fails to give the name of any of these princes....' Further, 'the *Tarikh-ul-Kamil* of Ibn-ul-Athir, which was composed within a century of the death of Mahmud also does not mention the names of these allies of the Ṣāhis'.[1] It has also been shown that Ajmer and Delhi, the rājas of which are said to have joined the confederacy, did not even exist at the time.[2]

These arguments, weighty as they are, are not irrefutable. It is true that Firishta alone has preserved the names of the states which responded to the call of the Ṣāhis. It may also be conceded that the list of confederates mentioned by him is not entirely correct, but the fact of joint opposition to the foreigner cannot be so lightly brushed aside. It would be belittling the intelligence of Indian rulers to assume that they were not aware of the real intentions and strength of the Yaminis, or that, knowing them, they did not sink their differences in the face of a common danger. Patriotic motives apart, they should have known perfectly well that the Ṣāhis were the only bulwark between them and the aggressive invader, and the most natural course for them would have been to stand by them.

Utbi and Nizam-ud-din do not name the allies of Jayapāla or Ānandapāla, but they do refer to the assistance offered to them by their contemporaries. Utbi, describing the protracted struggle between Jayapāla and Subuktigin, tells us that the former 'found himself powerless to do anything except to

1. *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 83, 91-92, 597; II, p. 682; also *E.R.K.*, p. 67.
2. Cf. Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, n. 1, 215 and p. 89, n. 3.
   Also, *H.M.H.I.*, III, pp. 26, 44, 69; *E. & D.*, II, p. 454, *H.O.K.*, p. 282, n. 1.

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invoke help, and therefore despatched letters, seeking succour, to the various provinces of India, imploring aid. He thus assembled nearly 100,000 horse....'[1] Nizam-ud-din also states that Jayapāla sought the help of the other rājas of Hindustan, and collecting about a hundred thousand mounted troops and many elephants, advanced to meet the Amir.[2]

Further, we have specific instances of Indian princes resolving their differences and helping each other against the Yaminis—the most notable example being that of the two bitter foes, Ṣāhi Trilocanapāla and Cand Rai of Sharwa, who even cemented their friendship with a matrimonial alliance.[3] We have it on the authority of Kalhaṇa that the Kashmir King Saṅgrāmarāja sent an army under the command of his prime minister, Tuṅga, in response to an appeal for assistance from the Ṣāhi prince Trilocanapāla,[4] and as we shall see below, the same prince was also promised aid by the Candella ruler for the recovery of his lost dominions. Even religious differences were brushed aside in face of the common enemy, and we know how Ānandapāla, 'true to his alliance', had proceeded to block the passage of Mahmud in response to the appeal of Daud of Multan.[5] These instances are sufficient to show that the common danger had 'galvanized the...states of Northern India into common action'.[6]

1. *K.Y.(R.)*, p. 40.
   On an earlier occasion also, Jayapāla is said to have 'assembled ...all his princes, feudatories, and *allies*, and with a great army approached the Musalman territory...' *Ibid.*, p. 34.
2. *T.A.(D.)*, p. 3.
3. *K.Y.(R.)*, p. 459; *E. & D.*, II, pp. 47-48; also Nazim, *op. cit.*, p. 93, n. 7. Vaidya wrongly identifies Cand Rai with the Candella king Gaṇḍa (*H.M.H.I.*, III, pp. 77, 78, 84, 85).
4. *R.T.*, VII, 47-63.
   Utbi also, referring to the same campaign, writes that the Ṣāhi King 'wrote to seek aid from the provinces of his country...so that from Hind and Sind and all quarters, there was (an army) blowing up fire...(*K.Y.(R.)*, p. 390).
5. *T.F.(B.)*, I, pp. 40-41.
6. Firishta also states that when Mahmud was marching against Thanesvar, the rājā of Delhi had 'sent messengers throughout Hindustan' asking the other rulers 'to unite their forces' at Thanesvar 'to avert the impending calamity' (*T.F.(B.)*, I, p. 52). Elliot and Vaidya, however, doubt the veracity of Firishta (*E. & D.*, II, p. 454; *H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 69).

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The rājā of Kālañjara who is said to have joined the national confederacy on both the occasions must have been a prince of the Candella dynasty, which had been in possession of the famous hill-fort since the days of Yaśovarman. The prince who assisted Jayapāla in 990-91 A.D. has been generally identified with Dhaṅga,[1] whose known dates range between 954 and 1002 A.D. We find a curious confirmation of this fact in an inscription from Mahoba, which tells us that Dhaṅga, 'by the strength of his arms, equalled even the powerful Haṁvīra who had proved a heavy burden for the earth'.[2] Most of the modern historians identify the Haṁvīra with Subuktigin (A.D. 977-997).[3]

Dr. Ray, who would give no credence to the evidence of Firishta, is also sceptical about the veracity of this Indian record. He writes : 'The achievements of Mahmud only served to heighten the prestige of his arms. Under the circumstances, to compare Dhaṅga's prowess to that of the terrible Haṁvīra may have appeared to a late *praśastikāra*, writing at least a hundred years after that prince's death, to be deserving of the highest reward. If Dhaṅga really fought and was defeated by the Haṁvīra, we should expect a discreet silence from the poets living at the court of his successors'.[4] But why should

1. Cf. Smith, *E.H.I.*, p. 406 (On p. 397, however, he gives the name of the Candella ruler who assisted Jayapāla as Gaṇḍa); *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 140; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 276; Hultzsch, *E.I.*, I, pp. 218-19; Katare, *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, p. 342; Vaidya, *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 127; III, p. 176; Mitra, *E.R.K.*, p. 67; *C.H.I.*, III, p. 507; *A.I.*, p. 291.
2. *Supra*, p. 62.
3. Cf. *E.I.*, I, pp. 218-19; *E.H.I.*, p. 406; *H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 127, *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, p. 342, *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 387.
   Drs. Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 682-83) and Mitra (*E.R.K.*, p. 66), however, prefer to identify him with Mahmud. According to Dr. Bose, Dhaṅga was a contemporary of both Subuktigin and Mahmud, and assisted Jayapāla as well as Ānandapāla (*H.O.C.*, pp. 49-50).
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 683.
   Ray also states that 'Dhaṅga's reign was probably unmarred by defeat at the hands of the Turuṣkas' (*Ibid*). Likewise, we read in *E.R.K.* (pp. 66, 68) that as the Candella king was neither defeated nor his kingdom invaded by Mahmud, it might have led a later court-poet to assert that 'the predecessor of his master was an equal to the Sultan'. According to Vaidya, it was probably a drawn battle (*H.M.H.I.*, II, p. 127; III, pp. 26, 176).

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this late *praśastikāra* have singled out Dhaṅga alone for a comparison with Haṁvīra, and not any other prince of the Candella dynasty whom he has eulogised ? There must have been some basis for his statement. It presupposes an occasion when the Candella ruler could have asserted his equality with the invader, and we know of only one occasion when that could have been possible. It was in A.D. 990-91, when Dhaṅga along with other confederate rājās, fought against Subuktigin in Lamghan. The Muslim historians would have us believe that the Indian forces met with a disastrous defeat, but they have written in a partisan spirit and we have no information from the other side. It might have been only a drawn battle, as the Mahoba inscription seems to suggest. Truthfully enough, it does not claim victory for Dhaṅga and his associates.

There is, however, no certainty about the identity of the Candella ruler who joined the confederacy[1] organized by Ānandapāla in A.D. 1008. He is believed to have been Dhaṅga himself or one of his successors—his son Gaṇḍa or the grandson Vidyādhara.[2] As Gaṇḍa had succeeded a centenarian, he is not likey to have ruled for a long time. He was certainly dead in A.D. 1019 when Vidyādhara slew the king of Kanauj for his pusillanimity.

The prominent part played by the Candellas in the national struggle must have made them an eyesore to Mahmud. The crisis, however, was precipitated by their own actions. The collapse of the Ṣāhis had opened the way to the heart of India, and in A.H. 409 (A.D. 1018) Mahmud started on that

1. While Smith is not sure of the personal participation of the Candella King in this battle (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 142), Drs. Mitra and Bose believe that there was no direct fight between Dhaṅga and the Yamini invader. The Candella ruler, according to them, might have offered only 'some token help' to Jayapāla (*E.R.K.*, pp. 66, 67; *H.O.C.*, p. 49). However, as Dhaṅga's mother was probably a Gandhāra (Ṣāhi ?) princess (*E.I.*, I, p. 143, v. 37, and n. 54), his direct participation in the war cannot be altogether ruled out.
2. Smith (*A.I.*, XXXVII, p. 142), Sen (*S.H.A.I.B.*, pp. 387-8), Majumdar (*A.I.*, p. 330) and Vaidya (*H.M.H.I.*, III, pp. 44, 176) identify him with Gaṇḍa, but Drs. Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 683) and (Bose *H.O.C.*, p. 50) prefer to identify him with Dhaṅga. We, however, believe that Dhaṅga's reign came to an end in c. 1002 A.D.

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expedition to Ganga-Yamuna valley of which he had been dreaming for years. He crossed the Yamuna without any opposition, and made for Kanauj, overcoming all resistance *en route*. The imperial city was protected by seven forts 'washed by the Ganga which flowed under them like the ocean', but an unaccountable panic seems to have seized the people on the approach of the invader. 'Many of the inhabitants...fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans'. The Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Rājyapāla, who had promptly responded to the call of the Ṣāhis seems to have been left to his own resources. Realising the futility of resistance, he sought safety in flight, leaving the invader to play havoc with the premier city of Hindustan. It was thoroughly sacked and desecrated. Such an enormous amount of booty and such a large number of prisoners fell to the invader that 'the fingers of those who counted them would have been tired'.[1]

Rājyapāla effected an ignominious escape, but he was not destined to live long. His Candella contemporary, whose name is variously given as Nandā or Bīdā,[2] attacked and killed him in A.D. 1019, soon after his flight from Kanauj. It is stated in *Tabqat-i-Akbari* that '...a Rājā of the name of Nandā had slain the Rājā of Kanauj, because the latter had submitted and rendered allegiance' to Mahmud.[3] The *Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbar* also refers to Nandā 'who had killed Rājpāl, the Amir of Kanauj, and had admonished him for running away from the armies of Mahmud'.[4] *Tarikh-ul-Kamil* gives a slightly varying account of the incident. Mahmud 'had conquered

1. The details of this campaign are preserved in *K.Y.* (*R.*), pp. 449-62; *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 10; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, pp. 56-57; *T.Y.* (*E & D.*, pp. 45-46) etc. Alberuni (*Sachau*, I, p. 199) found Kanauj, in A.D. 1030, mostly in ruins and desolate.
2. Ibn-ul-Athir calls him Bīdā (*T.K.*, Bulak, IX, pp. 115-16; *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 604-5), while Nizam-ud-din (*T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12), Firishta (*T.F.*(*B.*), I, pp. 63, 67) and Gardizi (*Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbar*, p. 76; *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 604, n. 4) refer to him as Nandā. Certain mss. of *T.K.* give the name as Bandā, and on that basis Dr. Ray suggests the following stages in the corruption of the Candella king's name: Bīdā, Bandā, and Nandā (*D.H.N.I.*, II. p. 688, n. 4).
3. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12. Badaoni also says that Nandā had killed Jaipāl (Rājyapāla) for making his submission to Mahmud, *Mantakhab-ut Tawarikh*, Tr. by Ranking, Vol. I, pp. 25-6.
4. Vide *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 604, n. 4.

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Kanauj and its ruler, called the Ray, had fled away...and (when) Mahmud returned to Ghazna, Bīdā, the accursed,.... whose territory was named Kajuraha, sent messengers to the Ray of Kanauj, who was named Rājaypāl rebuking him for his flight and the surrender of his territories to the Musalmans. A long quarrel ensued between them, which resulted in hostilities and as each of them prepared to fight the other, they marched out and met and fought and Rājaypāl was killed...'[1]

There is no doubt that 'Rājbal' or 'Rājaypāl'[2] mentioned above is identical wlth the Gurjara-Pratīhāra ruler Rājyapāla, but the question that baffles us is the identity of Nandā or Bīdā, the ruler of Kajurāhā (Khajuraho). There is no prince bearing either of the two names among the rulers of the Candella dynasty. Cunningham suggested that Nandā was a mistake for Gaṇḍa, and his view has been generally accepted.[3] Dr. Ray, however, has shown on the authority of Ibn-ul-Athir, that 'Nandā...was a mistake not for Gaṇḍa...but for Bīdā', whom he identifies with Vidyādhara, the son of Gaṇḍa. 'Bīdā, according to him, 'is a mistake for Bidyā, the phonetic equivalent in Arabic of Vidyā, the first portion of the name of the Candella prince'.[4] We find an independent confirmation of this

1. *T.K.*, Bulak, IX, pp. 115-16; translation as in *D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 604-5. Ibn-ul-Athir says that as a result of this victory the 'fame (of Bīdā) spread throughout India'. However, if the cause of his attack upon Rājyapāla is correctly given by him, posterity, instead of resounding to the fame of the Candella ruler, would hardly forgive him for frittering away his resources in internecine strife at a time when unity was the need of the hour.
2. His name has been spelt by Muslim chroniclers as Rai Jaipāl, Rājā Pāl, Rajaipāl, Rājabāl, Rājayāl, Rājayabāl, Jayapāl Rāy, Jayapāla and Hayapāl or Hebal (vide *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 599, n. 1; *E. & D.*, II, p. 45, n. 2).
   Nizam-ud-din (*T.A.(D.)*, I, p. 10) and Firishta (*T.F.(B.)*, I, p. 57) call him Kūrah, Korah or Koowur Ray.
3. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 452.
   Cf. also Hultzsch, *E.I.*, I, p. 219; Smith, *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 278; *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 128, 142; Majumdar, *J.D.L.*, X, p. 74, n.; Tripathi, *H.O.K.*, pp. 285-86; Vaidya, *H.M H.I.*, III, p. 78; *C.H.I.*, III, pp. 21 ff, 665.
4. *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 606; II, p. 688. Also *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, p. 344; *E.R.K.*, p. 73.
   Bīdā, however, is not a *mistake* for Vidyā, but only the Prakrit form of the Sanskrit word.

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identification in three of the Indian inscriptions.[1] Smith and others who believe in the identity of Nandā and Gaṇḍa assert that Vidyādhara was the crown-prince when he marched against Rājyapāla,[2] but there is no authority, whatsoever, for such a suggestion.

The intelligence of these activities of the Candella king 'disturbed' Mahmud and he set out from Ghazni in the autumn of A.H. 410 (A.D. 1019)[3] to deal with him. On this occasion he is said to have made 'large preparations than he had done before'. Scholars have also speculated on the motives which led to this invasion. Smith assumed, on the authority of Nizam-ud-din that as the Candella ruler and his allies had slain Rājyapāla for submitting to Mahmud, the Sultan 'was furious when he heard...of the punishment inflicted upon the prince whom he regarded as a feudatory and resolved to take a speedy vengeance on the audacious confederates'.[4] According to Dr. Ray, on the other hand, the cause of this expedition 'was not Vidyādhara's attack on the Kanauj prince but... Candella prince's intention of attacking the territory conquered and annexed by Mahmud'.[5] His authority for this suggestion is Ibn-ul-Athir, who says : Paru Jaypāl, 'one of the rulers of India whose territory had been conquered by Yamin-ud-daulah and whose armies had been routed went to Bīdā and entered his service and sought his protection. He (Bīdā) promised to restore to him his country and to protect him.... And when this news reached Yamin-ud-daulah, he was disturbed and prepared to fight'.[6] Utbi, however, attributes this expedition

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 222, v. 22; *Ibid.*, II, p. 237, ll. 11-12 (text); *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 340 ff.
2. *E.H.I.*, p. 398: *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 128, 142; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 278. Also, Nazim, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-11; Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 286, n. 1; Bose, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Vaidya, *op. cit.*, III, p. 177, and Sen, *S.H.A.I.B.*, p. 388.
3. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12; *K.Z.A.*, p. 76 (vide, *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 604, n. 4). Ibn-ul-Athir and Firishta have wrongly dated this expedition in A.H. 409 and 412, respectively, vide, *L.T.S.M.G.*, p. 111, n. 5; *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 604, n. 3; II, p. 688.
4. *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, pp. 278-79; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 142; *E.H.I.*, p. 398. also *C.H.I.*, III, p. 21; *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 63.
5. *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 607; II, p. 688.
6. *T.K.*, vide *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 605. Cf. also *K.Z.A.*, p. 76:—'Nandā had promised to help Tarū Jaypāl and had agreed to take an army to his country' (vide *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 605, n. 2).

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only to Mahmud's ambition, zeal for Islam and love of plunder.[1]

Paru Jaypāl or Taru Jaypāl, mentioned above should be identified with the Ṣāhi ruler Trilocanapāla, as distinct from his namesake, the king of Kanauj (Bari).[2] After their last stand on the pass leading to the valley of Kashmir, Trilocanapāla and his son 'Niḍar' Bhīma proceeded towards the Doab,

1. *K.Y.(R.)*, p. 468.
Vidyādhara was not only championing the cause of the rulers vanquished by Mahmud but he was organising a concerted opposition to the invader. Trilocanapāla, the successor of Rājyapāla, was also his protege, and, as suggested by Vaidya, the Paramāra, Kalacuri and Kacchapaghāta rulers were 'in league with him' (*H.M.H.I.*, III, pp. 83, 177).
Cf. also Smith, *I.A.*, XXXV II, p. 142; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 278.
After the death of Rājyapāla, Vidyādhara had emerged as the most powerful ruler in Northern India and, naturally enough, he became an eyesore to the Ghaznavid invader.

2. The prince, also known to Muslim chroniclers as Baru, Paru, Taru, Naru, or Naro Jaipal, who opposed Mahmud on the Rahib or Ramganga (not Jun or Yamuna as stated in *T.A.D.*, I, p. 12 and *T.F.B.*, I p. 63) and was killed soon after by certain Hindus, has been identified, both with the Pratīhāra Emperor Rājyapāla (*I.H.Q.*, XXXV, p. 352; *H.M.H.I.*, III, pp. 79; *E. & D.*, II, pp. 45, n. 2, 47, n. 2) and his successor Trilocanapāla (*H.O.K.*, p. 287; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 280, n. 1 and *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 142). None of these identifications is tenable. We cannot identify him with Rājyapāla who had been killed by Vidyādhara before Mahmud encountered Taru Jaipal on the Rahib. His identification with Rājyapāla's successor, too, is untenable because the latter was alive in 1027 (*I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 33 ff), whereas the former had been killed by certain Hindus soon after the battle on the Rahib. Dr. Ray, who rules out his identity with Trilocanapāla of Kanauj, suggests that he might have been another prince between Rājyapāla and Trilocanapāla, a rival brother or an usurper belonging to the same family—*or* a contemporary ruler of another dynasty (*D.H.N.I.*, I, pp. 603, 608). His identification with Trilocanapāla Ṣāhi is more reasonable. The latter may be appropriately described as the ruler 'whose territory had been occupied by Yamin-ud-daulah, and whose armies had been routed' (*T.K.*, IX, pp. 115-16) and 'who had several times fled before his armies' (*T.A.D.*, I, p. 12). Firishta correctly describes him as the Rājā of the Punjab or Lahore and the grandson of Jayapāla (*T.F.B.*, I, p. 63, and text p. 52). Kalhaṇa, who lavishes unstinted praise on him, expressly states that even after his defeat on the Taushi, Trilocanapāla did not cease to make efforts for the recovery of his lost dominions, and that 'the Hammīra did not breathe freely thinking of (his) super-human powers' (*R.T.*, VII, 62-65).

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evidently to seek aid from the rulers of Kanauj and Kālañjara. To prevent the formation of another confederacy, Mahmud hurried across the country (A.D. 1019-20), crossed the Ganga and overtook the Ṣāhi on the banks of the Rahib or Rahut (Ramganga). The latter failed to hold the passage of the river, and had to suffer a crushing defeat. He proceeded to join Vidyādhara, 'but some of his Hindus surprised him and killed him'.[1] Mahmud next advanced upon Bari, the improvised capital of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras.[2] Trilocanapāla, the successor of Rājyapāla, took to flight, and the deserted town was levelled to the ground.[3]

After razing Bari to the ground, Mahmud proceeded to deal with Vidyādhara who, 'whether to help Trilocanapāla or with the intention of fighting single-handed', had marched from Kālañjara at the head of a vast army.[4] None of the Muslim chroniclers helps us in determining the site of the battle that ensued.[5] Their accounts also betray fundamental differences with regard to the incidents of the encounter.

1. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, pp. 63-64; *T.K.*, IX, pp. 115-16 (vide, *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 605), *K.Z.A.* (vide, *Ibid.*).
   While Nizam-ud-din, Firishta and Gardizi only state that Tarū or Narū Jaipāl fled with some of his followers, Ibn-ul-Athir asserts that he was killed by certain Hindus, while on his way to meet Vidyādhara. The identity of these Hindus cannot, however, be determined. Dr. Katare's suggestion (*I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 346, 352) that they belonged to the Candella camp is not supported by any evidence.
2. Cf. Alberuni, *Sachau*, I, p. 199.
3. *T K.*, IX, p. 116; *K.Z.A.*, pp. 76-7, etc.
4. Muslim chroniclers mention the strength of his army as follows:—
   Nizam-ud-din—36,000 horse, 145,000 foot, 390 (var. 640) elephants (*T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12).
   Ibn-ul-Athir— 56,000 horse, 184,000 foot, 746 elephants (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 690, n. 2).
   Gardizi— 36,000 horse, 145,000 foot, 640 elephants (*K.Z.A.*, p. 76).
   Firishta— 36,000 horse, 45,000 foot, 640 elephants (*T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 64).
   Farrukhi— 36,000 horse, 133,000 foot, 900 elephants (vide, *L.T.S.M.G.*, p. 112, n. 1).
5. According to Ibn-ul-Athir, the battle took place on the bank of a river. He does not mention its name, but it must have been on the frontiers of Bīdā's dominions (vide, *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 64 and *T.A.*(*D.*), p. 12). Smith also states that after destroying Bari, Mahmud 'advanced towards south in order to chastise Gaṇḍa (?) within his dominions' (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 142; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 279).

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According to Ibn-ul-Athir, Mahmud encountered the Candellas on the bank of a river, and commenced hostilities after having diverted the stream into new channels. It must have diminished considerably the strategic importance of the site occupied by Vidyādhara. Subsequently, 'Yamin-ud-daulah sent a party of his infantry to fight him, and Bīdā also sent out against him a similar number, and both the armies continued reinforcing their soldiers till the two opposing forces increased in numbers and the battle became vehement. At last the night overtook them and parted them'.[1]

Nizam-ud-din gives a different version of the encounter. According to him, 'when the Sultan encamped in front of Nandā's army, he first sent an envoy to him, and invited him to submit, and to accept Islam. Nandā refused to place his neck under the yoke of subjection. After that the Sultan went to an elevated spot, so that he might look at, and make an estimate of, the strength of Nandā's army. Then when he saw what a vast host it was, he repented of his coming; and placing the forehead of supplication on the ground of submission and humility, prayed for victory and conquest from the Giver of all Mercies'. But greater terror seems to have struck the heart of Nandā, who is said to have fled at night 'with a few special companions, leaving the army, and all the munitions of war behind'.[2] The *Kitab Zain-ul-Akhbar* gives a similar account.[3] Firishta's version, too, is not much different. According to it, Mahmud 'reconnoitred the enemy from a rising ground, prostrated himself before God, and prayed that the standard of Islam might be successful. The day being far advanced, he determined to wait till next morning, which delay, in the event, disappointed his hopes, for Nandā Ray decamped during the night in the utmost disorder, leaving behind him his tents, equippage, and baggage'.[4]

Thus, while according to Nizam-ud-din, Gardizi and Firishta, the Candella king was so alarmed as to flee from the battle-field without fighting, Ibn-ul-Athir would have us believe that there was a fierce, though indecisive, battle before here-

1. *T.K.*, p. 216, vide, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 690.
2. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 12.
3. *K.Z.A.*, p. 76, vide, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 691, n. 1.
4. *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 64.

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treated under cover of darkness. The latter version appears to be more authentic, because it is 'more consistent with the Muslim account of Bīdā's power and prestige'. That Mahmud had to undertake another expedition against him also shows that the issue was not decided in A.D. 1019. The strategic retreat of Vidyādhara not only avoided unnecessary loss of life, but also frustrated the plans of the invader by giving him no opportunity to force a decision. Had Vidyādhara left the field on account of fright, Mahmud would have surely pursued and destroyed him.

Next morning, after having made sure that no ambush had been planned, Mahmud gave orders for plundering the deserted Candella camp. Five hundred and eighty elephants, besides other precious articles and weapons of war, fell into his hands.[1] The fugitives were pursued and many of them were captured or killed. Vidyādhara, however, succeeded in eluding the pursuers. Apprehensive of his way back through a hostile region, Mahmud did not consider it prudent to pursue him any further. As stated by Ibn-ul-Athir, 'Bīdā escaped single-handed and Yamin-ud-daulah returned victorious (?) to Ghazna'. He had set out on this expedition with the avowed object of punishing Vidyādhara, but that objective could not be realised. Cunningham is nearer the truth when he states that as Mahmud 'was doubtful of the result....like a prudent general, he went back to Ghazni to return with a large force'.[2]

Vidyādhara had to beat a hasty retreat, but his power was far from broken. Mahmud, determined to force a conclusion, led another expedition against him three years later in A.H. 413 (A.D. 1022).[3] He appeared first before the fort of Gwalior, and laid siege to it. The local ruler, in spite of his successful

1. *Ibid*, also, *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 13; *T.K.*, vide *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 692, etc.
2. *A.S.R.*, XXI pp. 23-24.
3. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 14; *T.F.* (text), I, p. 31. Briggs (I, p. 66), however, dates this expedition in A.H. 414.
   Ibn-ul-Athir's reference to Mahmud's conquest of a strong fort in India in A.H. 414, according to Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 693, n. 1), also refers to his expedition against Kālañjara in A.H. 413.
   Vaidya believes that Mahmud led only one expedition against the Candellas, but his reconstruction of the history of this period (*H.M. H.I.*, III, pp. 84-86) does not tally with the accounts left by the Muslim chroniclers.

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resistance, thought it wise to terminate hostilities. After holding out for four days, he sued for peace and offered thirty-five elephants. The Sultan accepted his surrender, and advanced towards Kālañjara.[1]

The famous fort, situated on the lofty crag of a precipitous rock of hard stone, was renowned for its strength and impregnability. It is said to have contained accommodation for 500,000 men, 20,000 head of cattle and 500 elephants, and was well-stocked with provisions, weapons and other requirements.[2] The fort was invested and all the approaches to it barred. The siege, which lasted for a considerable time, was raised only when the Candella ruler sued for peace, promising to pay annual tribute and to surrender 300 elephants.[3] Vidyādhara is also said to have sent to the Sultan some verses, which he had himself composed in Hindi (*Zaban-i-Hindi* or *Lughat-i-Hindvi*), in praise of the latter. They were greatly appreciated by 'the learned men of India, Arabia and Persia' present in the invader's camp.[4] Mahmud, too, signified his pleasure by issuing a *farman*, confirming Vidyādhara in the possession of fifteen forts, including Kālañjara. The two rulers also exchang-

1. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 14; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 66; *K.Z.A.*, p. 79.
   The ruler of Gwalior styled *hākim*, *sālār* or *rājā*, respectively, by Nizam-ud-din, Gardizi and Firishta, must have been a Kacchapaghāta feudatory of Vidyādhara, probably Kīrtirāja. Nazim (*op. cit.*, p. 113) confuses him with Arjuna of Dubkund.
   The Kacchapaghātas had played a prominent role in the action against Rājyapāla, and that would explain Mahmud's expedition against Gwalior.
2. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 14; Cf. *L.T.S.M.G.*, p. 113.
3. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 14; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, pp. 66-67; *K.Z.A.*, p. 80.
   According to *K.Z.A.*, pp. 79-80) *jaziya* was also imposed upon Vidyādhara.
   The elephants, intoxicated with drugs and without drivers, were let loose not only 'to put the bravery of the Sultan's troops to test', but also in order to create confusion in his camp. They were, however, successfully mastered by Mahmud's soldiers. The Candellas were 'astonished at this spectacle, and felt much awe for the prowess of the Turks', Cf. *E. & D.*, II, p. 467 and n. 2. Nazim (*op. cit.*, p. 114, n. 2) points out that there is no authority to suggest that the elephants had been intoxicated.
4. *T.A.*(*D.*), I, p. 14; *T.F.*(*B.*), I, p. 67; *K.Z.A.*, p. 80.

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ed costly gifts and presents, and Mahmud left for Ghazni 'with victory and triumph'.[1]

Divergent views have been expressed on the conduct and policy of Vidyādhara. While Smith censures him for his 'craven flight' and brands him a coward who 'capitulated without fighting',[2] Dr. Majumdar commends his strategy and diplomacy.[3] We have to depend exclusively on Muslim chroniclers for an account of the wars between Vidyādhara and Mahmud, but their accounts are biassed, confused and partial. They give the impression that Vidyādhara, though the ruler of a vast territory and possessing a large army, was a man of weak and cowardly disposition. On the other hand, the only Indian source available to us gives him the credit of having 'churned the wide ocean that was the valiant Hammīra'.[4] Whatever the truth, it has to be conceded that Mahmud failed in his primary object of crushing the power of Vidyādhara.

The Yamini invader led two expeditions in order to 'punish' the Candella ruler for his contumacy, and had he had his way he would certainly have liquidated him; but he found Kālañjara a hard nut to crack, and Vidyādhara a better general and strategist than the effete ruler of Kanauj. Mahmud could not stay on indefinitely at Kālañjara, for there was the danger of his retreat being cut off. He had to yield to the realities of the situation and conclude peace with Vidyādhara. Had he been sure of success, he would have certainly marched against him a third time.

The invasions of the Yaminis had completely changed the political map of Northern India. The empire of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras and the kingdom of the Ṣāhis—the valiant

1. *T.A.(D.)*, I, p. 14; *T.F.(B.)*, I, p. 67; *K.Z.A.*, pp. 79-80.
2. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 142; *J.R.A.S.*, 1909, Pt. I, p. 279.
3. *A.I.*, p. 330.
4. निरङ्कुशयशः प्रसरः स जज्ञे विद्याधरो
धरणिधारणवीरबाहुः ।
हिम्मीरवीरमुरुवारिनिधिं प्रमथ्य पृथ्वीभृता करटिकः...।

vide, an inscription of the time of Jayavarman Candella, noticed by Dr. Katare in *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, p. 340 ff. According to him, Vidyādhara defeated Mahmud soon after the latter's invasion of Kanauj in A.H. 409.

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defenders of the North-West—had disappeared, along with a whole host of minor states. Candellas alone survived the ordeal. They not only halted the triumphal career of Mahmud, but also emerged as the dominant power to the North of the Vindhyas—and the credit for that undoubtedly goes to the sagacious policy of Vidyādhara.

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CHAPTER VI

STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Vidyādhara, the most outstanding ruler of his age in Madhyadeśa, died in c. 1035 A.D. He had reduced the neighbouring states to subordination but his death reversed the gear. Signs of decadence had become manifest during his own lifetime : the process was only accelerated under his weak successors, who lacked the ability of their distinguished predecessors. The two factors that contributed, more than anything else, to the temporary eclipse of the Candellas' power were (1) the repeated Yamini invasions which had almost paralysed them, and (2) the emergence of powerful ambitious rulers like Gāṅgeyadeva Kalacuri and Bhoja Paramāra. So long as Vidyādhara was on the throne the edifice of the Candella empire remained intact, but after the removal of his strong arm there developed cracks which undermined the structure. Not only did the Candellas lose chunks of their own territory, but such states as had so far offered fealty to them became either independent or transferred their allegiance to the newly emerging powers.

Gāṅgeyadeva (1019-1041 A.D.) had not only retrieved the fallen fortunes of his family, but had also launched upon a career of territorial aggrandisement. An epigraph credits him with successful campaigns in Kīra, Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala,[1] while others state that he took up residence at the feet of the holy banyan tree at Prayāga and attained salvation there together with his hundred wives.[2] A Muslim chronicler, Baihaqui,

1. C.*I.I.*, IV, No. 50, pp. 256-57, 261, v. 17; also, No. 51, p. 269, v. 18.
2. *Ibid.*, Nos. 56 (p. 293) and 57 (p. 303), v. 12.
The first annual *śrāddha* of Gāṅgeyadeva was also performed at Prayāga by his son Lakṣmīkarṇa in A.D. 1042, when he granted a village in Kāśī *bhūmi* to a Brāhmaṇa, *Ib.*, No. 48, pp. 236 ff.

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testifies to his possession of Vārāṇasī in c. 1034 A.D.[1] The Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley had been subject to the authority of the Candellas, and the expansion of the Kalacuris in that region could have been possible only at their cost. The epithet '*jitaviśva*', attributed to Gāṅgeyadeva in one of the Candella records,[2] is also suggestive of the same fact. Further success was attained during the reign of his son Lakṣmīkarṇa when the Candellas virtually lost their independence.[3] Kīrtivarman, however, retrieved the situation, and saved his family from utter ruin.

Simultaneously, the Candellas lost their hold over the Kacchapaghātas. The Saṣ-bahu temple inscription tells us that the body of Mūladeva, the son and successor of Kīrtirāja, the faithful vassal of Vidyādhara ruling in Gwalior, 'was decorated with the irreproachable marks of a Universal Sovereign'.[4] This statement as well as the 'sudden assumption of two additional names (viz., Bhuvanapāla and Trailokyamalla) by Mūladeva[5] may indicate his 'freedom from the hegemony of the Candellas'. Likewise, Abhimanyu of the Dubkund branch of the Kacchapaghāta family, who 'valued other princes as lightly as a straw', may have thrown off the allegiance to the Candellas, and joined hands with the great Paramāra ruler Bhoja.[6]

The two immediate successors of Vidyādhara, Vijayapāla and Devavarman, proved unable to meet the new challenges, but the latter's younger brother, Kīrtivarman, rose to the occasion, and restored the prestige of his family.

VIJAYAPĀLA (c. 1035-1050 A.D.)

Vidyādhara's successor was his son Vijayapāla.[7] Unfortunately, no inscription of his reign has been discovered so far,

1. *E. & D.*, II, p. 123.
   Gāṅgeyadeva's occupation of the *Doab* is also confirmed by the discovery of his coins in U.P., *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xci.
2. *E.I.*, I, p. 222, v. 24.
3. *Infra.*, pp. 102-3.
4. *I.A.*, XV, pp. 36, 42, vs. 12-13.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *E.I.*, II, pp. 233, 237, (text) ll. 17-18.
   Cf. *D.H.N.I*, II, pp. 830-31; *H.O.P.D.*, p. 105; *S.F.E.*, p. 57.
7. *E.I.*, I, pp. 197-98, 203, vs. 5-6; XX, p. 127, (text) ll. 1-2; *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, (text) ll. 1-2; XVIII, pp. 238, 239, v. 1, etc.

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but he is mentioned in a number of records of his successors. None of them, however, throws any light on the political events of his reign. The Nanyaura and Charkhari copper-plates of his son Devavarman give him the usual titles viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*,[1] while the Deogadh rock inscription styles him '*nṛpo-nṛpendra*'.[2] The Mau inscription which refers to his widespread fame and virtuous conduct tells us that he exterminated all the wicked, gladdened all good men (and) put an end to the Kaliyuga (*Kṣta Kali-yuga bhaṅgaḥ*).[3]

The same epigraph reveals the name of his *saciva* Mahīpāla, 'in whom valour was united with a blameless policy', and who 'sustaining, to its full extent, the weighty burden of the important affairs of the king Vijayapāla....became the standard of comparison among good ministers'. He was the scion of a distinguished Brāhmaṇa family of hereditary ministers.[4]

Vijayapāla had at least two sons, viz., Devavarman who succeeded him to the throne and Kīrtivarman who inherited the kingdom after the death of his elder brother. The Nanyaura copper-plate mentions Rājñī Bhuvanadevī, mother of Devavarman.[5] It is, however, not known whether she was the mother of Kīrtivarman also.

The fragmentary Mahoba inscription contains an important synchronism which enables us to fix the reign period of Vijayapāla. The record tells us that 'when Gāṅgeyadeva, who had conquered the world, perceived before him (this) terrible one (Vijayapāla)...the lotus of his heart closed the knot of pride in battle'.[6] Evidently it alludes to some forgotten episode in the long-drawn out conflict between the Cedis and the Candellas. Vijayapāla might have scored a victory over Gāṅgeyadeva,

1. *E.I.*, XX, p. 127, (text) ll. 1-2; *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, (text) ll. 1-2.
2. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 1.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, v. 6.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 205, v. 26 :
   अविकलङ्कु रुकार्यधुराभरं विजयपाल न राधिपतेर्द्धत् ।
   स निरवद्यनयान्वितविक्रमः सुसचिवेषु बभूव निदर्शनं ।।
5. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, (text) l. 8.
6. *E.I.*, I, pp. 219, 222, v. 24 :
   अवहत जितविश्वः सोपि हृतपुण्डरीकं
   मुकुलितरणगर्व्वग्रन्थि गाङ्गेयदेवः ।

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as suggested by Drs. Mirashi and Ganguly,[1] but the decline of the Candellas certainly starts from his reign.

DEVAVARMAN (c. 1050-1060 A.D.)

Devavarman, the son of Vijayapāla, has not been mentioned in the later records of the family, but his existence is well established by the Nanyaura (V.S. 1107) and Charkhari (V.S. 1108) copper-plates issued by himself.[2]

These records, however, do not refer to any political incident of his reign. Both of them contain eulogistic verses, couched in beautiful language, which only praise him in a conventional manner. Thus, the Nanyaura plate states that 'by the fire of his prowess he has devoured the whole circle of the regions', and that he was 'the spiritual guide to initiate into widowhood the wives of the enemies slain (by him) on the battle field' (*saṁgrām-āṅgaṇa-nihat-ārāti-vanitā-vaidhavya-dāna-dīkṣā-guruḥ*). It is further stated that he surpassed Yudhiṣṭhira by his truthfulness, Karṇa by his munificence, the Ocean by his depth, Indra by his majesty, Kāma by his handsomeness, and both Śukra and Vācaspati by his intelligence. The eulogist also describes the king as intelligent, righteous, valorous, truthful, self-controlled, grateful, the cause of joy to the good people, of auspicious countenance, and adds that his person was 'adorned with a mass of many noble qualities' (*aneka-guṇa-gaṇa-samālaṁkṛta-śarīraḥ*).[3]

The Charkhari plate gives him the epithet of '*mahāsāmanta rājaputra-vandita-pādaḥ*' (whose feet were worshipped by the great feudatory princes) and describes his reign as greatly augmenting, auspicious and victorious (*mahā-pravardhamāna-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya*). Like the former record, it also eulogises him for his victories (against unspecified enemies) and com-

1. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. xci and xcv; *S.F.E.*, pp. 58 & 61; also, *A.I.*, pp. 322 and 331.
   It is significant that the Kalacuri records, which ascribe extensive conquests to Gāṅgeyadeva, make no mention of his wars against the Candellas.
2. *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 204-7; *E.I.*, XX, pp. 125-28.
   His name has been wrongly given as Devendravarman in *S.F.E.* (p. 58).
3. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 205, (text) ll. 3-6.

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pares him to such well-known mythological and epic characters as Viṣṇu, Bali and Karṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira and Anaṅga in respect of his widespread fame, munificence, purity, devotion to truth and to the service of the teachers, Brāhmaṇas and gods, and handsome personality.[1] The epigraph also alludes to the high standard of his moral, spiritual, and literary attainments, as well as to his administrative efficiency.[2]

Both the charters give him the usual titles adopted by the Candella sovereigns, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, *Parameśvara*, *Paramamāheśvara* and *Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati*. The gift villages mentioned in these records cannot be identified, but the Charkhari plate, by mentioning that one of them viz., Bhūtapallikā, was situated on the banks of the Yamunā,[3] confirms the conclusion derived from other records that Candella kingdom extended, towards the north, at least upto that river. That record also preserves the name of an officer of his regime—Yaśobhaṭa, the writer of the charter, who held the post of *Akṣapaṭalika*.[4]

The official records of the reign refer to Devavarman's feudatories as well as to the victories gained by him, but they specify neither the names of the former nor those of the adversaries whom he vanquished. He had virtually nothing to his credit. On the contrary, as noted in the following pages, he might have suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Cedi king, Lakṣmīkarṇa, which might have cut short his reign as well as his life.

KĪRTIVARMAN (c. 1060-1100 A.D.)

According to dynastic records Kīrtivarman was a son of Vijayapāla, and some of them place him just after the latter[5]—

1. *E.I.*, XX, p. 126, (text) ll. 3-10.
   In this record Devavarman has also been described as '*ekāṅgaḥ*', one of the meanings of which, according to Monier Williams Sanskrit Dictionary, is 'having a unique or beautiful shape'.
2. *E.I.*, XX, p. 126, ll. 7-8 :
   परकुलांगनाबन्धुः मुनिरिवविदितात्मा काव्यालंकारछन्दोलक्षण
   गुणगणाधि-ठानः.....निर्यासित तस्करादिभयः ।
3. *Ibid.*, p. 127, (text) l. 14.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 128, (text) l. 23.
5. *E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 7; p. 222, v. 25; *I.A.*, XVIII, p. 238, v. 2

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suggesting that he was his immediate successor. We have, however, noted above that Vijayapāla's successor was another son of his, namely, Devavarman. Kīrtivarman, therefore, must have come to the throne after the death of his elder brother, whose name has been omitted in his records as well as in those of his descendants, evidently because he was not in the direct line of ancestry.[1] We have other examples also of such exclusions in the Candella records.

Several inscriptions, contemporaneous as well as later, refer to the incidents of Kīrtivarman's reign, which constitutes an important landmark in the history of the Candellas. His greatest achievement was the resurrection of his ancestral kingdom, which had been overwhelmed by the forces of the southern rival, the king of Dāhala. The Candella-Cedi rivalry was of a long standing : as a matter of fact it dominated the history of the two dynasties. We have already referred to the defeats inflicted by Yaśovarman and Dhaṅga on their Cedi contemporaries. Vijayapāla, too, claims to have contended successfully against Gāṅgeyadeva, but the latter's son Lakṣmīkarṇa more than avenged the defeat of his predecessors.

Lakṣmīkarṇa was the most outstanding ruler of his age, and his achievements amply justify the epithet of 'Hindu Napoleon' given to him by modern historians.[2] His sphere of influence is said to have extended from the borders of Kashmir to the southern-most point of the country. It may be an exaggeration, but, as pointed out by Dr. Ray, his 'contact with the kings of Northern India from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal is established on authentic documents'.[3]

1. Various explanations have been offered for the exclusion of Devavarman's name in the dynastic records, viz., his issuelessness or the suppression of his children by Kīrtivarman (*A.S.R.*, X, p. 24; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143), the inglorious character of his reign (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 695; *E.R.K.*, pp. 91-92), or the conflict between him and his brother Kīrtivarman (*H.O.C.*, p. 72). However, a Mahoba inscription which attributes the qualities of Bharata (Dāśarathī) to Kīrtivarman (*E.I.*, I, p 222, v. 25) would suggest cordiality rather than conflict between the two.
2. To proclaim the attainment of the status of a *Cakravartī* sovereign, Karṇa seems to have crowned himself a second time in A.D. 1052-53, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcvi.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 698. Cf. also, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcvi.

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The Candella records also bear witness to the success of the Cedi ruler and the disastrous effect that it had on their own fortune. The fragmentary Mahoba inscription tells us that the armies of 'haughty Lakṣmīkarṇa had destroyed many princes,[1] while an Ajayagadh inscription describes Kīrtivarman as 'the lord of creatures in creating anew the kingdom'.[2] It implies that the Candella kingdom which had been formerly destroyed by Lakṣmīkarṇa was resurrected by Kīrtivarman. Though differing in details, the evidence of the Sanskrit drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* also is to the same effect. It distinctly says that 'the race of the Moon (the Candellas) was uprooted (*samunmūlitaṁ*) by the lord of Cedi, the destroyer of all the princes'.[3] The destruction of the Candella power is borne out by Bilhaṇa, too, who describes Karṇa as 'the death to the lord of Kālañjara mountain'.[4] He certainly held the Candella territoryin subjection for a time, and it is just possible that the predecessor of Kīrtivarman not only suffered defeat at his hands but even lost his life in defending his territory.[5]

Karṇa, however, soon learnt a lesson in the fickleness of fortune at the hands of Kīrtivarman. There is very convincing epigraphic and literary evidence on this issue. The Ajayagadh inscription of Kalyāṇadevī, already cited, describes Kīrtivarman as 'the pitcher-born (Agastya) in swallowing that ocean Karṇa'. The Mahoba inscription also refers to the same

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 219, 222, vs. 24-26.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 329, vs. 3 :
   कुम्भोद्भवः कर्ण्णपयोधिपाने प्रजेश्वरो नूतनराज सृष्टौ ।
3. *P.C.*, I, p. 18.
4. *Vikramāṅkadevacarita*, XVIII. 93 :
   कालः कालञ्जरगिरिपतेर्यः ।
5. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 698 and *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcv.
   Smith (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143), Vaidya (*H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 178), Ganguly (*S.F.E.*, p. 58) and Majumdar (*A.I.*, pp. 324, 331) are of opinion that it was Kīrtivarman himself who suffered defeat at the hands of Karṇa in the early part of his reign and was 'driven from the throne for a time'. However, as pointed by Dr. Mirashi, *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* and *Prabodhacandrodaya* clearly state that Karṇa not only drove the Candella ruler from the throne but also exterminated him. 'He could, therefore, be none other than Devavarman, for Kīrtivarman lived to regain his throne', *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcv, n. 6. Cf. also, *H.O.T.*, p. 19.

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episode. It states : 'just as Puruṣottama (Viṣṇu), having produced the nectar by churning with the mountain (Mandāra) the rolling (milk) ocean, whose high waves had swallowed many mountains, obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī, together with the elephants (of the eight regions), he (Kīrtivarman) having acquired fame by crushing with his strong arm the haughty Lakṣmīkarṇa, whose armies had destroyed many princes, obtained splendour in this world together with elephants'.[1]

Kṛṣṇa Miśra, the author of *Prabodhacandrodaya*, has also referred to the success of the Candellas against Karṇa. However, he gives the credit for this victory to Gopāla, an ally or feudatory of Kīrtivarman, whereas the epigraphs give all the credit to the king himself.[2] There are several passages in the drama which throw light on this event. At one place, Gopāla is compared to Mahā-Varāha who 'raised up the earth when it had sunk in the waters of destruction'. Elsewhere, he is said to have, like Paraśurāma, extirpated the race of tyrannical kings, or to have torn asunder, like Nṛsiṁha, the breasts of his powerful enemies.[3] One of these enemies, Karṇa, is specifically mentioned in the following statement of the *Sūtradhāra* : he 'strove to reestablish the sway over the earth of the kings of the lunar race, which had been uprooted by the lord of Cedi'.[4] The *naṭī* also refers to Gopāla's victory over the armies of Karṇa and compares him to Viṣṇu who had obtained Lakṣmī by churning the ocean. She says, 'having crushed the ocean-like army of

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 219-20, 222, v. 26 :
   ग्रस्तानेकक्षमाभृतमुच्चकैर्व्वललहरिभिर्लक्ष्मीकर्ण्णं महार्ण्णवमुद्धृतम् ।
   अचलमहसादोर्द्दण्डेन प्रमथ्य यशः सुधां य इह करिभिर्लक्ष्मीं लेभेपरः पुरुषोत्तमः ॥
   The fragmentary Kālañjara inscription also refers to the defeat of Karṇa by Kīrtivarman, *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 317, l. 8.
2. The victory must have been achieved by Gopāla, otherwise the drama in which that claim has been so forcefully expressed could not have been staged in the presence of the king himself.
3. *P.C.*, pp. 9 & 19.
4. *P.C.*, p. 18 :
   यतः सकलभूपालकुलप्रलयकालाग्निरुद्रेण चेदिपतिना समुन्मूलितं चन्द्रान्वय-पार्थिवानां पृथिव्यामाधिपत्यं स्थिरीकर्तुमयमस्य संरम्भः ।

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Karṇa (he) obtained the splendour of victory in battle, just as Madhumathana having churned the milk-ocean obtained (the goddess) Lakṣmī'.[1] At another place Gopāla is said to have caused the rise of king Kīrtivarman by defeating Karṇa, just as *Viveka* having overcome *Moha* gave rise to *Bodhi*.[2] There is another significant passage which tells us that 'Gopāla....aided by his sword as his friend conquered the lords of men, and has invested with the sovereignty of the earth Kīrtivarman, the chief of princes'.[3] The above-quoted passages make it abundantly clear that Gopāla proved to be the saviour of the fortune of the Candellas when it was made to totter by the Cedi King.

Strangely enough, the inscriptions of the reign of Kīrtivarman make no mention of his victory over Karṇa. Other records, too, do not enable us to determine the date of this event. If it has been surmised correctly from the statement of Bilhaṇa that Devavarman fell fighting against Lakṣmikarṇa, then the victory of Kīrtivarman must have been obtained soon after his brother's death. Only this supposition would justify the epigraphic and literary references to his restoration of the family fortune. However, if we accept Hultzsch's interpretation of the statement in *Prabodhacandrodaya* cited above, that Gopāla defeated Karṇa and 'again placed Kīrtivarman on the throne',[4] then we would have to concede that it was Kīrtivarman himself who had been defeated by Karṇa, and was subsequently rein-

1. *Ibid.*, p. 17 :
   कण्णसेण्णसाअरं णिम्महिअ महुमहणेणव्व खीरसमुद्दं आसादिआ
   समरविजअलच्छी ।
2. *Ibid.*, p. 20 :
   विवेकेनेव निर्जित्य कर्णं मोहमिवोर्जितम् ।
   श्रीकीर्तिवर्मनृपतेर्बोधस्येवोदयः कृतः ।।
3. *Ibid.*, p. 14 :
   गोपालो भूमिपालान् प्रसभमसिलतामित्रमात्रेण जित्वा ।
   साम्राज्ये कीर्तिवर्मा नरपतितिलको येन भूयोऽभ्यषेचि ।।
   The theme of *Prabodhacandrodaya* is a war between kings *Viveka* and *Moha* fought in Vārāṇasī. A suggestion may be hazarded that it was one of the theatres of war between the Candellas and the Cedis. The holy city was included within the dominions of Dhaṅga, but it was subsequently lost to the Cedis.
4. *E.I.*, I, p. 220

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stated by Gopāla. In that case, the passage in *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, quoted above, should not be interpreted literally.

Kīrtivarman was not the only person who taught Karṇa 'the lesson of the mutability of fortune'. Someśvara Cālukya of Kalyāṇī, Bhīma I Cālukya of Aṇahilapattana, Udayāditya of Malwa and the Pāla king Vigrahapāla also claim to have inflicted reverses on him.[1] The dates common to all of them range between 1059 and 1064 A.D.. It is, however, not known whether they had formed a common front or fought him individually. The latter alternative is more plausible.

As pointed out by Dr. Ray an interesting piece of evidence of Kalacuri occupation of Candella territories is probably supplied by the series of Candella coins which start from the reign of Kīrtivarman. 'His coins... with the exception of the legend are almost exact copies of the coins of the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, the father of Lakṣmīkarṇa'.[2] The Candellas apparently adopted the Kalacuri type of coinage, which must have been current in Jejākabhukti during the period of its occupation by Karṇa.

If reliance can be placed upon the epigraphic evidence, it would appear that Kīrtivarman's victorious career did not end with the defeat of Karna. He is stated to have madè extensive conquests and must have defeated other rulers too. The Mau inscription says that Kīrtivarman 'vanquished the host of enemies' and 'made his command reach the borders of the sea'.[3] The Ajayagadh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman describes him as the 'crest-jewel of the princes in the Yellow Mountain districts'.[4] Likewise, the Deogadh rock inscription of his minister tells us that 'when fortune, withdrawn from (other) princes just as (she was recovered by Viṣṇu) from the sea, came to him who appeared like a new Viṣṇu without his club, she left off (her) fickleness'. It further tells us that he resembl-

1. Cf. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. xciv-xcix; *D.H N.I.*, II, p. 699.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 699. Also. *C.M.I.*, pp. 77-79; *A.S.R.*, X, pp. 25-26; *C.C.I.M.*, pp. 251, 253.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, v. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 336, v. 9 :
   पीतशैलविषयेषु महीपतीनां चूड़ामणिं ।

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ed among the kings 'the moon moving in the midst of the stars'. This record also credits his minister Vatsarāja with having 'quickly wrested from the enemy this whole district (*maṇḍala*)' and with the construction of the fort of Kīrtigiri there.[1] It would suggest that Kīrtivarman wrested the Deogadh region on the Betwa from the Paramāras of Malwa.[2] *Prabodhacandrodaya* also refers to his *digvijaya-vyāpāra* and to the extent of his empire upto to the ocean. However, it indicates that the later days of his reign were peaceful.[3]

Kīrtivarman also appears to have encountered successfully the forces of Mahmud, governor of the Punjab, during the reign of Sultan Ibrahim of Ghazni (1059-1099 A.D.). The *Diwan-i-Salman*, after describing his capture of the fort of Agra and march to Ujjain and Malwa, says 'on the way to Kalinjar thy pomp obscured the light of day. The lip of infidelity became dry through fear of thee, the eye of plural worship became blind. All the people felt alarm at thy army, and regarded it as the approach of the day of judgement'.[4] So far as Kālañjara was concerned, it could have been nothing more than a predatory raid.[5] The fort was not lost to the Candellas.

Kīrtivarman was not a mere soldier; he also possessed other qualities of head and heart. The Deogadh inscription tells us

1. *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 238, 239, vs. 3-4, 6.
   Kielhorn identifies Kīrtigiri *durga* with Deogadh itself, *Ib.*, p. 238.
2. According to Smith (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143) and Mirashi (*C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcviii (he wrested Deogadh region probably from Karṇa Kalacuri.
   A Kālañjara inscription refers to his successful campaign in Mālava, *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, p. 319, l. 9.
3. *P.C.*, I, pp. 10-11.
   In this text Gopāla is said to have defeated not only Lakṣmīkarṇa but a confederacy of rulers (सअल राअमण्डल) *Ib.*, p. 16.
4. *E. & D.*, IV, p. 524.
5. Dr. R.C. Majumdar states in his *Ancient India*, p. 331 that 'Kīrtivarman was also defeated by Mahmud...who plundered Kālañjara', but on p. 345 of the same book we are told that Mahmud 'failed to take Ujjain and Kālañjara which were successfully defended by the Paramāra and Candella rulers'.

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that his body was 'abundantly decorated...with multitudes of manifold excellencies (and is indeed) a pellucid sea of excellencies', and that he shared the attributes of such divine personages as Yudhiṣṭhira, Sadāśiva and Rāmacandra. It also refers to his devotion to law (*dharmma-paraḥ*).[1] The Mau inscription praises him for his virtuous conduct, and says that he was 'virtue, descended here....to destroy the sin of the Kali age'. It again states that 'by his fame and good acts and prosperity (he) surpassed the son of Dharma (even)'. He is further said to have vanquished the six internal enemies viz., desire, wrath, covetousness, bewilderment, pride and envy.[2] A statement in the Deogadh inscription that 'when fortune (Lakṣmī) came to him...she left off (her) fickleness' evidently alludes to his riches. Another record tells us that ruling righteously (*dharmeṇa*) he 'day by day rendered more prosperous the seven constituent parts of the kingdom', and 'extirpated the multitude of thorns....together with the strife induced by the impurity of the Kali age'.[3] It is not suprising if such achievements immortalised his name in the annals of the dynasty. The Mau inscription would have us believe that his fame reached upto the borders of the sea, while an Ajayagadh epigraph states that it was sung even by the Vidyādharas.[4]

The epigraphic records also mention the names and achievements of a number of officials of his reign. The Ajayagadh rock inscription of the time of Bhojavarman mentions one Maheśvara who received from Kīrtivarman 'the title of *viśiṣa* of Kālañjara accompanied by (the grant of) Pipalāhikā'. Maheśvara belonged to the distinguished family of Vāstavya Kāyasthas which had served the Candellas for several generations. The record describes him as 'an ornament of the earth... thoroughly familiar with every branch of letters' who prevented others 'from falling into the pit of darkness of delusion, himself going after good deeds'.[5] Another epigraph from the same

1. I.A., XVIII, pp. 238, 239, vs. 2-4.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, vs. 7-8.
3. *Ibid.* v. 8.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 326, 327, v. 3.
   Also, *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 238, 239, v. 2.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 333, 336, vs. 8-9.

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place records that Maheśvara had gone from Kālañjara (where he apparently resided) to king Kīrtivarman at the Pītādri or the Yellow Hill and was rewarded by him for his meritorious services.[1]

Another Ajayagadh inscription mentions one Lakṣmīdhara, 'an ornament' in the kingdom of Kīrtivarman. He was the scion of a Gauḍa family, which served the Candellas from the time of Kīrtivarman to that of Vīravarman.[2]

The Deogadh rock inscription mentions Vatsarāja 'the chief counsellor among his ministers (*Amātya Mantrīndra*) a (very) Vācaspati in his unique office of counsellor'. As already stated, he had wrested Deogadh region from the enemy where he built the fort of Kīrtigiri and a *ghāṭa* on the Betwa named after himself as Vatsarāja *ghaṭṭa* in V.S. 1154 (A.D. 1098).[3]

The Mau inscription mentions another distinguished minister viz., Ananta, on whom it showers very rich encomiums. Birth in a 'most notable family which had risen higher and higher, Brahmanical rank most illustrious, study of the Vedas, spotless sacred knowledge, wealth shared with the learned, heroism always difficult to be withstood in battles, (and) everywhere pleasing but sincere speech, what is there in which...(he) did not surpass the world ? (Being the king's) councillor in the very high office of counselling, (the very) heart (of the king) in secret confidential matters, constantly (a leader of horses and) elephants among enemies, a superintendent of the forces of the town (?) an unrivalled protector of property, a vanquisher of adversaries...the sole chief of all heroes, in what affairs

1. *Ibid.*, XXX, p. 90, vs.7-8.
The Yellow Mountain (Pītādri, Pītaparvata or Pītaśaila) where Maheśvara is stated to have rendered meritorious services to Kīrtivarman, then in distress, may have been an important theatre of war between the Candella king and his Cedi rival. The latter's general Vapulla claims to have defeated one Trilocana at the foot of the Yellow Mountain (*Pītaparvata tale, C.I.I.*, IV, p. 282, v. 10). There is no clue to the identity of Trilocana (*Ib.*, pp. 280-81), but he may have been a partisan of Kīrtivarman. The situation must have been subsequently retrieved by Maheśvara.
For the identification of the Yellow Mountain, *supra*, p. 12, n. 3.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 238, 239, vs. 5-7.

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was he not the approved minister of the king Kīrtivarman ?' Having such a remarkable minister in his service 'no wonder.... that...Kīrtivarman by his fame and good acts and prosperity surpassed the son of Dharma (even)'.

The record next refers to Ananta's sacrifices, to his younger brother Yogeśvara, to his wife Asarvā 'remarkable for her virtuous conduct, as Anasūyā (was) of the sage Atri', to his another wife, whose name is missing, and to several of his sons who served under the successor of Kīrtivarman. The family of Ananta had also been associated with the Candellas for a number of generations and had served them in different capacities.[1] The Darbat Sāntinātha image inscription of V.S. 1132 (A.D. 1075) also mentions the names of two Jaina officers of the reign of Kīrtivarman, viz., Pāhila and Jāju. They, too, appear to have belonged to a family of hereditary ministers.[2]

Kīrtivarman has important victories of peace also to his credit. Tradition credits him with the construction of three important lakes, viz., Kiratsagar in Mahoba, another lake of the same name in Chanderi and Budhiya Tal in Kālañjara.[3] We have already referred to the construction of a new fort on the Betwa, the Kīrtigiri-durga, evidently named after the king himself. Cunningham noticed the remains of a Śiva temple near the *dargah* in Mahoba which, he believed, might have been constructed during the reign of Kīrtivarman.[4] There is another Śiva temple at Ajayagadh, near Parmala tank, with the legend '*Śrī-Kīrtijayeśvara*' inscribed on the rear wall of its sanctum, possibly in allusion to the king's name. The celebrated allegorical drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* is another monument to his undying fame. The author Kṛṣṇa Miśra must have enjoyed his patronage. The Darbat Śāntinātha image inscription bears witness to the patronage extended by him to the followers of Jainism[5]—suggestive of his broad-minded religious toleration.

Kīrtivarman had a fairly long reign of more than thirty years, and under his able guidance the Candellas not only

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 200-201, 205-206, vs. 27-37.
2. *I.H.Q.*, XXX, pp. 183-85.
3. *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 134; *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 31, 85.
4. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 441.
5. *I.H.Q.*, XXX, pp. 183-85.

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retrieved the lost position but re-emerged as an important power in Northern India.

GOPĀLA

No account of the reign of Kīrtivarman would be complete without a mention of Gopāla, the chief architect of his glorious victory. *Prabodhacandrodaya* pays eloquent tribute to his valour, military zeal and organising capacity comparing his achievements to those of Nṛsiṁha, Mahāvarāha, Paraśurāma and Madhumathana. It also gives a graphic description of his sanguinary warfare.[1] Indeed, it was Gopāla who defeated Lakṣmīkarṇa, restored the waning prestige of the Candellas and established Kīrtivarman firmly on his ancestral throne. The drama, however, provides no clue to his identity and it is also strange that none of the Candella epigraphs contains any reference to him.

Cunningham interpreted 'Gopāla' as an appellation of Viṣṇu and opined that Kīrtivarman had thrown off the yoke of Kalacuri subjugation by the favour of Gopāla (Viṣṇu).[2] Others believe that he was either a general[3] or a *sāmanta*[4] of Kīrtivarman. However, the epithet '*sakala-sāmanta-cakra-cūḍāmaṇī-marīci-mañjarī-nīrājita-caraṇa-kamala*', given to him in the drama,[5] far from indicating his feudatory status, suggests that he had his own circle of *sāmantas*.[6] Nanḍillagopaprabhu, in his commentary on the drama, also styles him *rājña*.[7]

Prabodhacandrodaya describes Gopāla at one place as an *amātya* of Kīrtivarman,[8] and at another place as his *sahaja-*

1. *P.C.*, I, v. 7, etc.
2. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 453.
3. Hultzsch (*E.I.*, I, p. 200), Smith (*I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 143), Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 698), Banerji (*H.O.T.*, p. 19) and Mirashi (*C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcvii) describe him as the Brāhmaṇa general of Kīrtivarman.
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 697, 700; *S.F.E.*, p. 58; *H.G D.*, p. 19.
5. *P.C.*, I, p. 7.
6. Cf. the comments of Nanḍillagopaprabhu and Śrī Govindāmṛta Bhagavān on the extract cited above.
7. Commenting on '*Śrīmatā Gopālena*' (*Ib.*, p. 9), he writes : '*Śrīmatā mahānubhāvena Gopālena rājñā*'.
8. *Ibid.*, I, p. 11.

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suhṛt.[1] Probably it also alludes to his Brāhmaṇa caste.[2] According to Mm. Ganapati Sastri the term *sahaja-suhṛt* or *sahaja-mitra* means *either* the ruler of the friendly state situated beyond the borders of the immediate neighbouring state (*ari*) or one's cousin.[3] Dr. Mitra prefers to place Gopāla in the second category, on the ground that the drama neither styles him king nor does it indicate the territory over which he was ruling. However, he has himself quoted with approval Nanḍillagopaprabhu, who designates him as *rājña*.[4] Moreover, if Gopāla was a Brāhmaṇa he could not have been a cousin of Kīrtivarman.[5]

An attempt has been made to identify Gopāla with the homonymous Rāṣṭrakūṭa king of Kanauj (*Gādhipurādhipati*) mentioned in the Sahet-Mahet (*I.A.*, XVII, pp. 61-64; XXIV, p. 176) and Budaun (*E.I.*, I, pp. 61-66) inscriptions.[6] But this identification is extremely doubtful for these records do not refer to his most glorious achievement, viz., the defeat of Lakṣmīkarṇa and the restoration of Kīrtivarman : nor does *Prabodhacandrodaya* connect Gopāla with Kanauj. It has also been suggested that he was identical with the king (name lost) mentioned in the fragmentary Jhansi inscription of Sallakṣaṇa (Siṁha), who claims to have protected Kīrtivarman against Karṇa Kalacuri, and formed a league against the latter—con-

1. *Ibid.*, I, p. 10.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 18 :
   निसर्ग सौम्यमेव ब्राह्म ज्योति: कुतोऽपि कारणात् प्राप्तविक्रियमपि पुन: स्वभाव एवावतिष्ठते ।
3. Kauṭalīya *Arthaśāstra* (ed. G. Sastri), p. 233. The commentator Nanḍillagopaprabhu interprets *sahaja-suhṛt* as *svabhāva-komala*.
4. *E.R.K.*, pp. 96-99.
5. According to Dr. Mathur, Gopāla was a Kṣatriya because 'all the appellations and figurative images and similes used for him (in *Prabodhacandrodaya*) are seen often qualifying the Kṣatriya princes in Sanskrit Works'—*I.H.Q.*, XX, p. 162, n. 26. However, such appellations have been used for the Hindu rulers irrespective of their caste.
6. *I.H.Q.*, XX, p. 159.
   Differing from Drs. Mathur, Sanyal, Ray & Tripathi, Dr. Roma Niyogi does not believe that *Gādhipurādhipa* Gopāla of Sahet-Mahet inscription is identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla of the Budaun inscription, *H.G.D.*, pp. 18-24.

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sisting of himself, Kīrtivarman and the Paramāra ruler Udayāditya. He also claims to have defeated Karṇa and replaced Kīrtivarman on his throne.[1] Dr. Mathur believes that Gopāla of the Jhansi inscription was a Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, the progenitor of whose family, taking advantage of the confusion prevailing in the *Doab* at the dawn of the 11th cen , had established his authority in that region. He further suggests that Gopāla's predecessors had been *sāmantas* of the Candellas, who had dominated the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley since the days of Vidyādhara. 'Perhaps the former obligations of the Candellas done towards his ancestors....urged the faithful Gopāla...to fight for...his overlord Kīrtivarman'.[2] However, the fragmentary character of the inscription prevents any safe conclusion. In the present state of our knowledge, we can only say that Gopāla was a Brāhmaṇa chieftain who held the post of *amātya* under Kīrtivarman. He showed remarkable military ability and proved to be the saviour of the Candellas in an hour of great crisis.

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 216, ll. 20-21; also, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. xcvii.
2. *I.H.Q.*, XX, p. 162.

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CHAPTER VII

RESURGENCE OF POWER

SALLAKṢAṆAVARMAN (c. 1100-1110 A.D.)

Kīrtivarman had restored the fallen fortunes of his family. Though his immediate successors could not emulate him, yet they succeeded in maintaining their heritage intact, until Madanavarman once again deemed himself powerful enough to follow an aggressive policy.

Kīrtivarman's successor was his son Sallakṣaṇavarman.[1] No record of his reign has been discovered so far, but some of the later inscriptions give us a good idea of his accomplishments and attainments. They not only praise him for his prowess, victorious career and liberality,[2] but also refer to his successful campaigns in the Antarvedī[3] and against the Mālavas and Cedis.

The 38th verse of the Mau epigraph which refers to the progress of Sallakṣaṇavarman or one of his officers in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab* is unfortunately quite illegible—the stone having been damaged at the place—and nothing can be made out except the names of Sallakṣaṇavarman and Antarvedī *viṣaya*.[4] The Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley had fallen on evil days since the death of Rājyapāla (c. 1018 A.D.), and it is not easy

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 9; *Ibid.*, p. 327, v. 4.
   The coins mention his name as Hallakṣaṇavarman, vide *C.M.I.*, p. 79; *A.S.R.*, II, pp. 458-59; X, p. 26.
2. Cf. *E.I.*, I, p. 198, v. 9. :
   स्व विक्रमभरप्रोन्निद्रितारिः सदा ।
3. Kalhaṇa defines Antarvedī as the land between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā, with Gādhipura (Kanauj) as its chief town. *R.T.*, IV, 132-33.
4. *E.I.*, I, p. 201, v. 38 :
   अथ सल्लक्षणवर्म्म (प्रभु ?).....पुनः ।
   अन्तर्व्वेदीविषये..... ॥

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to unravel the tangled web of its history before the establishment of Gāhaḍavāla supremacy. The Jhusi grant of Trilocanapāla[1] (V.S. 1084=A.D. 1027) and the Kara inscription of Yaśaḥpāla[2] (V.S. 1093=A.D. 1036) seem to suggest that, after the devastation of Kanauj and Bari, the Gurjara-Pratīhāras had retired to the eastern part of their dominions and held a portion of the Allahabad district[3] from 1027 to 1036 A.D., after which the existence of the dynasty cannot be traced in North Indian records. In the meantime we find certain minor dynasties stepping in to fill the void thus created. The Jhansi stone inscription of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha, which has been assigned to 'about the twelfth century' A.D. on paleographic grounds, appears to refer to certain rulers of Kānyakubja[4] who do not admit of identification. The fragmentary character of this record does not enable us even to determine whether they were independent kings or merely feudatories of the sovereign rulers of that city. The Sahet-Mahet stone inscription of Vidyādhara,[5] V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1119) and the Budaun stone inscription of Lakhanapāla[6] also reveal the existence of a line of Rāṣṭrakūta chiefs ruling from Budaun to Kanauj in the 11th and 12th centuries. The former record describes one of these princes, Gopāla, as '*Gādhipurādhipa*' (the lord of Gādhipura i.e. Kanauj), but, very probably his successors had their headquarters at Budaun (Voḍāmayūtā). These princes were no

1. *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 33-35.
2. *J.R.A.S.*, 1927, pp. 694-95; *J.A.S.B.*, V, p. 731, etc.
3. It does not, however, mean that their sway was confined to Allahabad district alone.
4. *E.I.*, I, pp. 214-17; *Lucknow Museum Catalogue*, p. 46, E. 20.
   According to Dr. Ray these princes might have been the predecessors of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers of Kanauj, *D.H.N I.*, II, p. 702, n. 2.
   The identification of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha with Sallakṣaṇavarman Candella is doubtful, Cf. *E.I.*, I, p. 215.
5. *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 61-64. Date corrected in *Ibid.*, XXIV, p. 176, also. *J.A.S.B.*, LXI (1892), Part I, Extra No. p. 60 ff.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-64; *E.I.*, I, pp. 61-66.
   For the identity of the princes mentioned in the two inscriptions see *J.A.S.B.*, XXI (1925), p. 105.
   The earliest reference to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family of Kanauj occurs in Surat grant of Trilocanapāla (1151 A.D.), *I.A.*, XII, p. 201, v. 6; *J.R.A S.*, 1905, p. 10.

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better than mere local rulers and had to bow down to the various monarchs, who, taking advantage of the chaotic political situation in the Antarvedī, succeeded in establishing their suzerainty over that region.[1] Vidyādhara Candella was the first to assert his supremacy in that quarter, but his death synchronised with the beginning of the most glorious epoch in the history of the Cedis of Dāhala, and as we have already noticed parts of the *Doab* soon passed under their control.[2] However, the defeats inflicted on Lakṣmīkarṇa Kalacuri in the later part of his reign must have weakened their hold on the outlying provinces, and within two decades of his death we find a new imperial power, the Gāhaḍavālas, establishing itself in the Antarvedī.

The third ruler of the new dynasty, Candradeva, claims to have, by his own arm, 'acquired the matchless sovereignty over the glorious Kānyakubja'. He also poses as 'the protector of the holy places of Kāśī, Kuśika, Uttarakośala and the city of Indra after he had obtained them'.[3] These conquests must have been accomplished before A.D. 1090, the date of his Chandravati plates,[4] and after c. 1072 A.D., when Karṇa Kalacuri had ceased to reign.[5] Candradeva died sometimes between A.D. 1099, the date furnished by another Chandravati record of his,[6] and A.D. 1104 when his son Madanapāla is known to have been on the throne.[7] The latter apparently

1. Maheśvara mentions, in his *Viśvaprakāśa* (Chawkhamba Sanskrit Series) vs. 5-6, 10-12, another ruler of Gādhipura about this period, viz. Sāhasāṅka, in whose court his grandfather Śrīkṛṣṇa lived as a physician. Dr. Tripathi identifies Sāhasāṅka with Candradeva, *H.O.K.*, p. 304.
2. *Supra* pp. 98-9.
   Bhoja Paramāra, Someśvara I Āhavamalla Cālukya and Nialtigin, governor of the Punjab, also claim to have invaded Antarvedī during this period, vide *P.C.M.*, p. 31, v. 72; *I.A.*, VIII, p. 19; *E & D.*, II, pp. 123-24.
3. *E.I.*, IX, p. 304 :
   निजभुजोपार्जित कान्यकुब्जाधिपत्य... ।
   तीर्थानिकाशीकुशिकोत्तरकोशलेन्द्रस्थानीयकानि परिपालयताभिगम्य ।
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 302-5.
5. Cf. the Basahi plates of Govindacandra, *I.A.*, XIV, p. 103, l. 3 (text).
6. *E.I.*, XIV, pp. 129 ff.
7. *I.A.*, XIV, pp. 101-4.

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ruled for a brief period only, the last known date of his reign being A.D. 1109.[1]

The Candellas hed been casting wistful eyes over the Gaṅgā-Yamunā *Doab* for a long time, and had even established their supremacy over it during the reign of Vidyādhara. However, his death at a very crucial moment in their history, and the subsequent eclipse of their power at the hands of Lakṣmīkarṇa restrained them for a time. Kīrtivarman's overthrow of the yoke of Kalacuri domination and the recovery of their lost prestige whetted their ambition once more, and Sallakṣaṇa-varman made a bold bid to reassert his authority in Antarvedī *viṣaya*.

Modern scholars differ in their appreciation of the inscriptional statement. Cunningham dismissed it as 'only a successful raid'.[2] Similarly, Dr. Ray, who holds that Sallakṣaṇa must have come into conflict there with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Gopāla or one of his predecessors, believes that his attempt to control the *Doab* probably proved abortive.[3] Dr. Ganguly, on the other hand, asserts that 'Sallakṣaṇavarman crushed the refractory elements in the Antarvedī which was then ruled by the Gāhaḍavālas'.[4]

According to Dr. Bose, it probably refers to Sallakṣaṇa's successful opposition to the aggression of the (Gāhaḍavāla) rulers of Kanauj, who were then trying to penetrate into the southern regions of the Antarvedī, rather than to his own raid in the *Doab*.[5] Dr. Mitra is indecisive. He views it as 'a bold bid for the recapture of the Kanauj region', but doubts 'whether Sallakṣaṇa was really victorious in the Antarvedī'.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, XVIII, pp. 14-19.
2. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 453.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 702.
4. *S.F.E.*, p. 58.
5. *H.O.C.*, pp. 81-82, 84.
6. *E.R.K.*, p. 108.
   Dr. Roma Niyogi, according to whom 'the Mau inscription probably refers to some Candrātreya attempt to recover the lost hold on Antarvedī' by Sallakṣaṇavarman, believes that the expedition was a failure. She even suggests that Sallakṣaṇa-varman may have been 'one of the kings defeated by Candradeva on the bank of the Yamunā' (*H.G.D.*, p. 49).

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We are of the view that Sallakṣaṇa's intervention in the affairs of the Antarvedī took place during the reign of Madanapāla or towards the close of his father's because the Candella ruler came to the throne only after V.S. 1154 (A.D. 1098) when his father was still governing the kingdom.[1] A suggestion may be hazarded that he pitted himself against Madanapāla, but under what circumstances we do not know, for the Mau epigraph is fragmentary and the Gāhaḍavāla inscriptions do not mention any conflict with the Candellas. But it is possible to discover some indirect and circumstantial evidence in the latter. They maintain discreet silence with regard to the achievements of Madanapāla, and have nothing to add to his credit beyond 'conventional and vague bombasts'. However, there is a statement in the records of his successor, the significance of which cannot be missed. Govindacandra claims to have 'by his creeper-like long arms secured the elephant which was the new kingdom' (*nava-rājya*).[2] The kingdom which had been acquired by his grandfather and ruled over by his father can hardly be described as having been newly acquired when Govindacandra came to the throne. The only reasonable explanation would be that the kingdom, or a part of it, had been lost by one of his predecessors and was subsequently reconquered by him.

1. Vide, Deogadh rock inscription, *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 237-39.
2. *I.A.*, XV, p. 7, v. 7.
The statement is believed to refer to the kingdom to which Govindacandra succeeded after the death of his father—cf. Kielhorn : 'the sovereignty over Kānyakubja is described as having been newly acquired, even when Govindacandra, the grandson of Candradeva, was reigning' (*Ibid*). This, according to Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, 'finds...explanation in the fact that it was Govindacandra who re-established the supremacy of his line over Kānyakubja' which, he believes, had been eclipsed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa chieftains Gopāla and Madana. On the other hand, Dr. R.K. Ghoshal states : 'It seems that Chandradeva...found the time opportune and the field open to extend his influence in the Gaṅgā-Yamunā Doab by establishing his capital at the most fiercely contested for city in the whole history of mediaeval India. Shortly afterwards, however, the imperial capital seems to have been lost to the Gāhaḍavāla sovereign, following presumably an expedition led by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler of Kanauj, probably Gopāla of the Set-Met inscription. Madana, the son and successor of Gopāla soon lost the advantage once for all' (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 70).

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Could not this temporary loss of Gāhaḍavāla supremacy in the Antarvedī be attributed to Sallakṣaṇavarman, as claimed in the Mau inscription? The circumstances were certainly favourable to him. Muslim forces wers once again marching into the *Doab* about this time. One invasion took place during thc reign of Masud III (A.H. 492-509=A.D. 1098-1115). It is referred to in the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* which tells us that 'Hajib Tughatigin crossed thc river Gang, in order to carry on a holy war in Hindustan, and penetrated to a place where except Sultan Mahmud, no one had reached so far with an army before'.[1] The *Diwan* of Masud ibn Sad ibn Salman, who lived at the court of the Yamini ruler, also appears to refer to the same campaign. It states that the king of Kanauj 'in spite of all his wealth and bravery was defeated....and compelled to ransom his person by a large sum of money'.[2] The invasion must have taken place before A.D. 1109, the date of the Rahan plates which inform us that the crown prince Govindacandra 'again and again by the play of his matchless fighting' compelled the Hammīra to 'lay aside his enmity'.[3] It would appear that the king of Kanauj at first suffered a severe defeat but subsequently the situation was retrieved by his son. The Gāhaḍavāla prince must have been assisted by his

Differing from him Drs. Ray and Tripathi believe that Candradeva had obtained the sovereignty over Kanauj after defeating Gopāla (*D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 554; *H.O.K.*, p. 301). The chronological position of these Rāṣṭrakūṭa princes is very uncertain and cannot be determined unless fresh evidence is forthcoming. The only date that we know of these princes is V.S. 1176 (A.D. 1119) which belongs to the reign of Madana. His date falls within the reign period of Govindacandra and consequently Madana's father Gopāla might very well have been a contemporary of Govindacandra's father Madanapāla, during whose reign be might have seized the *Doab* as suggested by Dr. Chakravarti. But the other alternative is equally plausible. No one suggests that A.D. 1119 was the initial year of Madana's reign. He might have come to the throne about the beginning of XII century, and that would place his father in the last quarter of XI century, in the nineties of which he might have been vanquished by Candradeva.

1. *T.N.* (*R.*), I, p. 107; also, *E & D.*, II, p. 278.
2. Vide, *D.H.N.I.*, I, p. 514; also *A.I.*, pp. 315 & 345. For a different interpretation see *E. & D.*, IV, pp. 526-27.
3. *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 16, 18, l. 9 (text).

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Rāṣṭrakūṭa feudatory Madanapāla, on account of whose 'distinguished prowess there never was any talk of Haṁvīra's coming to the banks of the river of the gods'.[1]

The opportunity was too good to be lost, and Sallakṣaṇa-varman must have seized it for an invasion of the Antarvedī. The fact subsequently stated in the Mau epigraph that his minister Ananta, who probably led the campaign in the *Doab*, 'abandoned his body in the waters of (the river of) the gods and of the daughter of the Sun',[2] would also, probably, indicate the extent of the Candella sphere of influence at least upto Prayāga. It also deserves to be noted that the list of the sacred places of the Gaṅgā-Yamunā valley which enjoyed the protection of Candradeva does not include the holiest of the holy *tīrthas*.[3]

The Ajayagadh rock inscription of Kalyāṇadevī tells us that Sallakṣaṇa's sword took away the fortune of the Mālavas and the Cedis.[4] Kīrtivarman had extended his dominions westwards and conquered and fortified Deogadh on the Betwa. It is not unlikely that his successor, too, continued to harass the Paramāras and carried out successful raids in their territory from his base at the new fort. The contemporary ruler of Mālava, Naravarman, was hard pressed by the Cālukyas,[5] and the Candella king must have taken advantage of his difficulties. Similarly, Kīrtivarman had defeated the Cedi ruler Lakṣmīkarṇa and it is just possible that his successor kept up the strife. His Cedi contemporary must have been Lakṣmīkarṇa's son Yaśaḥkarṇa (c. 1073-1123 A.D.), who had to face

1. *E. I.*, I, p. 62, l. 4 (text).
2. *Ibid*, pp. 201, 206, v. 40.
3. In view of the fact that the Gāhaḍavāla records do not mention any conflict with the Candellas while tradition refers to cordial relations existing between the two dynasties, it is also possible that Sallakṣaṇa's campaign in the Antarvedī was not directed against the Gāhaḍavāla ruler, but only to assist him against the Muslim invaders. This would be quite in consonance with the policy of his predecessors.
4. *E I*, I, p. 327, v. 4 :
   सल्लक्षणो मालवचेदिलक्ष्मीलुंटाकखड्गः ।
5. *Infra*, p. 131, n. 1.

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a host of enemies from different quarters.[1]

Sallakṣaṇavarman seems to have maintained political and diplomatic relations with the Kalacuris of Ratanpur also. King Jājalladeva boasts in his Ratanpur stone inscription (1115 A.D.) that he was 'honoured like a friend with (presents of) fortune by the king of Kānyakubja and the ruler of Jejābhuktika'.[2] The latter ruler is undoubtedly a Candella king, three of whom, viz., Kīrtivarman, Sallakṣaṇavarman and Jayavarman appear to have been the contemporaries of Jājalla. According to Kielhorn, it was Kīrtivarman who gratified the Kalacuri king with presents,[3] but Dr. Mirashi prefers to identify him with Sallakṣaṇavarman, whose copper coins have also been imitated by Jājalladeva.[4]

Sallakṣaṇavarman was not a mere soldier and conquerer. The Mau inscription alludes to his learning and knowledge of arts, as well as to his virtuous conduct and generosity. He is described therein as 'a leader of those versed in sacred lore, a kinsman of the virtuous, a store of arts, and abode of good conduct and tree of paradise to all suppliants for support'. We are further told that 'by taking away the riches of enemies and bestowing them on all (his) people of good family, (he) far removed that wretched misery....'. This record also refers to his *Sabhā* and to the glittering bejewelled dresses of its members.[5]

1. The Paramāra ruler Lakṣmadeva claims to have attacked Tripurī and 'annihilated his warlike spirited adversaries' (*E.I.*, II, pp. 186, 193, v. 39). The Cedi prince could only have been Yaśaḥkarṇa, who appears to have suffered defeat at the hands of the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI also, vide, the Belgami inscription of the latter (*Archaeological Survey of Mysore*, Annual Report, 1929, pp. 133, 137, l. 33). The Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Ācugi II, a feudatory of Vikramāditya VI also claims to have defeated a king of Dāhala (*E.I.*, XIX, p. 230, v. 13), whom Dr. Mirashi identifies with Yaśaḥkarṇa, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. civ, n. 2.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 413, 416, v. 21.
   These rulers are believed to have 'sought Jājalla's friendship because his kingdom occupied a strategic position on the route of communication between the north and the south', *Ib.*, p. cxxiv.
3. *E.I.*, I, p. 34.
4. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. cxxiv-v.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, vs. 9-10, which also refer to the presence of the subordinate rulers in his Assembly:—

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Sallakṣaṇa-Vilāsapura, where king Paramardideva was camping in V.S. 1239 when he issued the Bharat Kala Bhawan Plate,[1] seems to have been named after Sallakṣaṇavarman. It may be identical with Vilāsapura, modern Pachar, 12 miles to the N.E. of Jhansi from where Paramardideva issued his Pachar, Mahoba, Charkhari and Ichchhawar plates also.[2] It is significant that all the charters issued by him between V.S. 1223 and 1239, were issued from the same place. It must have been an important town in those days. Ruins of the Candella period are still noticed there.

These epigraphs have also preserved the names of certain officers who served under this ruler. It appears from the Mau inscription that Minister Ananta—the scion of a distinguished Brāhmaṇa family of hereditary ministers, who had held various responsible posts under Kīrtivarman, continued to serve his successor also. The latter 'through his liking for distinguished qualities', is also said to have appointed the five sons of the minister, namely Vatsa, Viṣṇu, Gadādhara, Vāmana and Pradyumna—after having properly tested them (*parīkṣya samyak*)—to 'offices suitable to wise, upright and valiant men'.[3] Of these Gadādhara, according to Kielhorn, was the officer responsible for the success of the king in the Antarvedī.[4] The record adds that he 'cleared the country of thorns (i.e. disloyal elements), dissipated the fears of the subjects, (and) in an unparalleled manner increased their treasure and power', while the enemies 'defeated by the excess of his heroism were

श्री सल्लक्षणवर्म्मदेवनृपतिस्तस्यात्मजोऽभूत्प्रभुः ।
धौरेयः श्रुतशालिनांगुणवतां बन्धुः कलानां निधिः
सद्वृत्तस्य च सद्म कल्पविपटी निःशेषपुष्ट्यर्चिनां ॥
येनाच्छिद्यारिलक्ष्मीमखिलकुलजने यच्छतोच्चैर्न्निरस्ता
सा कष्टा दुःखवृत्ति...श्रिये किञ्च यस्य ।
राज्ञां सेवागतानां कनकमणिमयोद्भासिनेपथ्यसाम्या—
दन्येषां चाश्रितानां सदसि किमपि नाभूद्विशेषोपलम्भः ॥

1. *E.I.*, XXXII, p. 124.
2. *Ibid.*, X, pp. 44-49; XVI, pp. 9-15; XX, pp. 128-31; *I.A.*, XXV, pp. 205-8.
   The Charkhari plate of Vīravarman was also issued from Vilāsapur, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 132-34.
3. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 200-1, 205-6, vs. 35-38.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 206, n. 75.

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made to prostrate themselves at the feet of his master'.[1] An Ajayagadh inscription refers to another minister Yaśaḥpāla, who belonged to a Gauḍa family which had also served the Candellas for several generations.[2]

The evidence, though meagre, would tend to show that Sallakṣaṇavarman not merely maintained the dominion that he had inherited from his father but also emulated the latter in waging successful wars against the neighbouring states. The peace and orderly government not only gave him an opportunity to devote himself to the victories of peace, but also to augment his military and financial resources and to improve the economic condition of his people.

JAYAVARMAN (c. 1110-1120 A.D.)

According to an Ajayagadh inscription 'the valiant Jayavarmadeva ruled the kingdom' after Sallakṣaṇavarman. The Mau stone inscription of the reign of Madanavarman adds that he was a son of the latter.[3]

Only one record of this ruler has been discovered so far, viz., the postscript to the Khajuraho inscription of Dhaṅgadeva which he had reincised 114 years later, presumably when the original epigraph had become damaged or illegible. As the postscript states, the eulogy had been 'written again', on the orders of Jayavarman, 'with clear letters' on Friday the third of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, in V.S. 1173 (April 6, A.D. 1117).[4]

The revised inscription neither mentions the names of the rulers between Dhaṅga and Jayavarman, nor does it give any account of the reign of the latter. A few later records are the only source of information for the history of his reign.

All of them contain merely vague allusions to his victorious career and widespread fame. The Khajuraho epigraph tells

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 206, v. 39 :
   कृत्वा कन्टकशोधनं जनपदेऽप्यस्य प्रजानां भयं
   ताभ्यः संविदधे च वृद्धि रसमा कोशस्य दण्डस्य च ।
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 327, 329, v. 4 and *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 203, v. 11.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 147, vs. 63-64, and n. 96.
   Dr. Katare has referred to an inscription of the reign of Jayavarman, which has not been published so far, *I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 340 ff.

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us that the king (*nṛpati*) Jayavarmmadeva had 'with the letters of his fame inscribed the walls of the regions, the mountain-like great princes of which had been uprooted (by him and which had been) smoothed by the steps of (his) furious elephants (and) washed with the streams of the tears of the trembling wives of (his) enemies, perishing when they met (him) in battle'.[1] Likewise, the Mau inscription states that 'by the rising sun of (his) majesty princes like lamps..., were deprived of their lustre'.[2] An Ajayagadh epigraph also describes him as 'the one abode of victory' (*jay-aika-dhāmā*).[3] Unfortunately, however, none of the records gives any clue to the identity of the foes vanquished by Jayavarman, and we may not be wrong in believing that all these statements are mere *praśasti*, not based on actual historical facts.

The Mau inscription eulogises this ruler for his generosity, truthfulness, policy and heroism.[4] This record also preserves the names of two distinguished officials of his reign, viz., the minister Ananta, who had already distinguished himself during the two preceding reigns, and his son Gadādhara, who held the post of *pratīhāra* (Chamberlain). The former, following in the footsteps of Dhaṅga, 'abandoned his body' at the holy confluence of the Gaṅgā and Yamunā.[5] Another officer, Śrīdhara—also a hereditary servant of the family, is mentioned in an Ajayagadh epigraph,[6] while the Khajuraho inscription refers to Gauḍa Jayapāla, who was the '*Kāyastha* of the king Jayavarmadeva'.[7] Evidently, he was a clerk attached to the

1. *E.I.*, I, p. 147, v. 63 :
   उत्खातोच्च महीभृतो मसृणिता मत्तद्विपतां पदै—
   र्द्धौता: सांगरसंगभंगुररिपुत्रस्यत्प्रियाश्रूत्करै: ।
   दिग्मत्तीर्ज्जयवर्मदेवनृपति: कीर्त्यक्षरैर्योलिख—
   त्तेनालेखि पुन: प्रशस्तिरमलैरेषाक्षरै: क्ष्माभुजा ॥
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 203, v. 11 :
   औदार्यसत्यनयशौर्यनिवासभूमिस्तस्याजनिष्ट तनयो जयवर्म्मदेव: ।
   यस्य प्रतापतपनाभ्युदयेन भूपा दीपा इव क्षत:...न रेजु: ॥
3. *Ibid* , p. 327, v. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 203, v. 11.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 206, v. 40.
6. *A.S.I* , *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
7. *E.I.*, I, p. 147, v. 64.

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personal office of the king. It was he who had rewritten the *praśasti* of Dhaṅga.

Jayavarman's reign does not appear to have been a glorious one, and a Kālañjara inscription indicates that 'being wearied of government', he abdicated the throne, and proceeded to the divine river to wash away his sins. This record also describes him as 'devoted to the worship of Nārāyaṇa (*praṇīta-Nārāyaṇa-pāda-sevaḥ*).[1]

PṚTHVĪVARMAN (c. 1120-1128 A.D.)

Jayavarman, who probably left no capable issue, was succeeded by his uncle Pṛthvīvarman.[2] The epigraphic evidence on this point, however, is not consistent. While the Mau inscription of the time of Madanavarman and the Ajayagadh inscriptions of Kalyāṇadevī and Gaṇapati tell us that Pṛthvīvarman ascended the throne after Jayavarman,[3] the Augasi plate of Madanavarman states that he was a successor (*pādānudhyāta*) of Kīrtivarman.[4] It would only mean that Pṛthvīvarman was a son and not (necessarily) the immediate successor of the latter. The Mau inscription clearly describes him as 'the co-uterine younger brother of the illustrious king Sallakṣaṇavarman'[5]—the father of Jayavarman.

1. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, Pt. I, pp. 318, 319, l. 11.
   The suggestion of Dr. Bose (*H.O.C.*, pp. 83-84) that the 'weariness of Jayavarman probably indicates that he suffered at the hands of the Gāhaḍavāla ruler Govindacandra' is untenable. Chhatarpur 'near Sheorajpur' in Kanpur district, where an inscription of Govindacandra has been found, is *not* identical with Chhatarpur 'in the Candella kingdom', and the Dudhai inscription referred to by him is too fragmentary to yield conclusive evidence.
2. The fragmentary Kālañjara inscription indicates that Jayavarman had voluntarily abdicated in favour of '...Varman'.
   ...वर्म्मणि निधायभारं भुवः परिश्रान्तः अवगाहितुं प्रपेदे
   सनिपस्त्रिदशापगानीरम् । *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, Pt. I, p. 317, l. 11.
   There is no evidence to show that it was 'a case disputed succession culminating in a *coup-de-etat* by Pṛthvīvarman'
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, v. 12; *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 329, v. 5 and *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
4. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, ll. 3-4 (text).
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203, v. 12.

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The names of both Sallakṣaṇavarman and his son have been omitted in the Augasi plate, evidently because they did not fall in the direct line of ancestry.

We have no record of the reign of Pṛthvīvarman himself, but his historicity is established by four epigraphs of his successors, viz., the Augasi copper-plate and Mau stone inscription of the time of Madanavarman, and the Ajayagadh inscriptions of Kalyāṇadevī and Gaṇapati.

None of the above records, however, throws any light on the political incidents of his reign. While Kalyāṇadevī's inscription merely compares him to the mythical ruler Pṛthu,[1] the Mau inscription adds that he 'bore, equal to the task, the burden of the hereditary government' (*kula-rājya-dhurān-dadhau dhuryaḥ*)'. It also eulogises him for 'hating the ill-behaved, greatly delighting in worthy people...., taking lawful wealth (and) then expending it according to prescript on sacred objects..., protecting all beings....securing propriety of conduct' and thus practising 'the conduct of the Golden Age'.[2] The reference to the acquisition of 'lawful wealth' and 'expending it according to prescript' is important, in as much as it alludes to the existence of certain recognised principles governing the financial policy of the state in those days.

The same epigraph also mentions the name of his Chief Minister (*Mantri-mukhya*) Gadādhara. We have already seen that this official had held the post of *pratīhāra* in the preceding regime, but he was subsequently 'appointed chief of the ministers by the illustrious king Pṛthvīvarman'. The minister is made out to be a paragon of virtue. He was a 'hereditary servant (*maulaḥ*), born in a noble lineage, upright, of clear intellect, versed in sciences, tried by practice, eloquent, clever

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 329, v. 5.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 203, vs. 12-13 :
   श्री सल्लक्षणवर्म्मक्षोणीनाथस्य सोदरोवरजः ।
   अथ पृथ्वीवर्म्मनृपः कुलराज्यधुरान्दधौ धुर्यः ॥ १२ ॥
   अशिष्टेषु द्वेषो भृशमभिरतिः पात्रनिवहे
   जिघृक्षा न्याय्येऽर्थे विधिवदथ तीर्थ वितरणं ।
   परा रक्षा भूतेष्वपि च विनयादानपरता
   वितेने येनेत्थं कृतचरितमुच्चैरिह कला ।। १३ ॥

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...., expert in manning elephants, horses and chariots, skilled in archery (and) secret in council'. No wonder that such a gifted minister should have 'made the government of that king prosper in all its constituent parts'.[1] Another minister of this ruler, Gokula, is referred to in an Ajayagadh epigraph. He belonged to a Gauḍa family which had been connected with the Candella kings for several generations.[2]

The Augasi plate has given to Pṛthvīvarman the usual titles, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara.*[3] The inexplicable silence of the dynastic panegyrists with regard to the events of his as well as his predecessor's reigns would probably indicate that they were bereft of any glorious achievement.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 206, vs. 41-42.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, ll. 3-4 (text).

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CHAPTER VIII

GLORIOUS AGE OF MADANAVARMAN

MADANAVARMAN (c. 1128-1165 A.D.)

The three successors of Kīrtivarman have no spectacular achievements to boast of, but they must be given credit for maintaining the integrity of their dominion. Madanavarman, the son and successor of Pṛthvīvarman,[1] was cast into different mettle, and with his accession there started a new phase of territorial aggrandisement at the cost of the neighbouring states.

Madanavarman is undoubtedly one of the most remarkable rulers of his age, and we are fortunate in possessing an unusually large number of coins and inscriptions of his time. Still we do not know much of the historical events of his reign. The Baghari stone inscription of the reign of Paramardideva and the Ajayagadh rock inscription of Kalyāṇadevī merely eulogise him in vague and conventional phrases. The former describes him as 'the lord of the earth (*mahī mahendraḥ*) ...., who with his flashing sword scattered (his) adversaries (and) whose vigour became known by his onslaught on hostile kings, elated with pride; (resembling) the great Indra who cut off the wings of the mountains with his thunderbolt (and) whose might became famous by his killing (the demon) Vala'. It also gives a vivid description of his personal bravery on the battle-field : 'his sword applied by him to the broad frontal globes, covered with red lead, of the elephants of adversaries (and) darkened by the bees, (which stuck to it), was by his enemies seen moving rapidly to their own destruction, like Rāhu, coming in contact with the new(ly risen) sun'. Another verse of the same record describes the pathetic condition of the wives of

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 198, 203-4, v. 14; pp. 327, 329, v. 5; XXXII, p. 121.

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his enemies 'standing sighing in their palaces, addressing in pitiful terms their favourite parrots, looking, their sight dimmed by streams of tears, at the young ones of their pet antelopes,—what did they not do when, afraid of him, they were about to depart for the forest, (and) when their minds had no hope ever to return ?'[1] Likewise, the latter inscription states that Madanavarman subdued his enemies just as the God of Love (Manmatha) subdues all sentient beings.[2]

It is only the Mau Inscription of his minister Gadādhara that rises above the mist of vagueness and refers to his wars with the contemporary rulers. It describes Madanavarman as one 'before whose name even, ever quickly flees the Cedi king, vanquished in fierce fight; (and) through dread of whom the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour; by whom moreover that ruler of Mālava, full of arrogance, was quickly exterminated, while other monarchs, paying homage to him, have enjoyed supreme comfort'.[3] This record further states that Gadādhara 'having gradually reduced all princes to the state of dependency by applying the six expedients and so forth each in due season...made (the king's) sovereignty over the earth characterised by a single umbrella'.[4]

The king of Mālava may be identified with the Paramāra ruler Yaśovarman (c. 1134-42 A.D.) or his son Jayavarman, both of whom ruled contemporaneously with Madanavarman.[5] The Paramāras had never really recovered from the blow which had destroyed Bhoja and his empire, but the thirties of XII century constituted one of the most inglorious periods in their chequered history. There is an abundance of literary and epigraphic evidence to show that repeated attacks of the Cālukya king Jayasiṁha Siddharāja (c. 1094-1144 A.D.) had shaken the very foundations of their power. Yaśovarman was thoroughly defeated in c. 1135-36, and taken prisoner to

1. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 209, 212, vs. 5-7.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 327, v. 5 : ततोपि मदनः क्ष्माभृद्राज्येऽभूद्रिपुमन्मथः ।
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 198, 204, v. 15.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 201, 206, v. 42.
5. While Drs. Ganguly and R.C. Majumdar identify him with Yaśovarman (*S.F.E.*, pp. 59 and 69; *A.I.*, p. 328), Dr. A.K. Majumdar believes that he was Jayavarman (*C.O.G.*, p. 78); Cf. also *H.O.P.D.*, p. 171.

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Pāṭana. A substantial part of his dominion passed under the control of Jayasiṁha,[1] and Yaśovarman was forced to withdraw down the valley of Kali Sindhu, where he maintained a precarious existence, probably ruling as a vassal of his vanquisher.[2] The unfortunate differences among his sons further weakened the Paramāras,[3] whose misfortunes provided

1. Gujrat chronicles like *Prabandha-cintāmaṇi* (pp. 58-60, 74), *Kumārapālacarita* (I. 41), *Kumārapāla-prabandha* (p. 7), etc. refer to a twelve years war between Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and the Paramāra rulers of Malwa. It started during the reign of Naravarman and continued upto that of Yaśovarman. The former is stated to have lost his life in the struggle and the latter was captured and taken to Pāṭana. *Dvāśraya Mahākāvya* (XIV. 5-74; XV. 1), *Kīrtikaumudī* (II. 30-32), *Vasantavilāsa* (III. 22), *Sukṛtasaṁkīrtana* (II. 34) also refer to this war. Their accounts are further corroborated by Dohad (*I.A.*, X, p. 159, v. 2), Vadnagar (*E.I.*, I, pp. 293 ff, v. 11), Talwada (*Annual Report of Rajputana Museum*, 1914-15, p. 2) inscriptions. To proclaim his victory in Malwa, Jayasiṁha assumed the title of *Avantināṭha*, first mentioned in his Gala grant of A.D. 1136 (*J.B.B. R.A.S.*, XXV, pp. 322-24). The occupation of Malwa is further proved by the find of Siddharāja's inscriptions in Ujjain (*P.R.A.S., W.C.*, 1912-13, p. 55) and Udaipur (*I.A.*, XVIII, p. 341). An Ujjain epigraph also mentions the name of his governor in Avanti *maṇḍala* (*Ib.*, XLII, p. 258).
   Naravarman and Yaśovarman had also suffered defeats at the hands of Sallakṣaṇavarman (*Supra*, p. 121), the Colas (*I.A.*, XXII, p. 143), and the Cāhamānas (*E.I.*, XXVI, p. 104, vs. 15, 17; *E.C.D.*, pp. 180, G(ii) 1.12; 186 G(iv) 11. 12-14), and *Pṛthvīrāja Vijaya*, v. 85.
2. The assumption is based on the evidence of the Ujjain grant of V.S. 1192 (*I.A.*, XIX, pp. 348-9) which styles him *Mahārāja*, whereas in an inscription issued one year earlier he is designated as *Mahārājādhirāja* (*Ib.*, p. 351). However, the lower title mentioned in an inscription alone is not sufficient to prove his reduced status.
3. Cf. Kielhorn (*I.A.*, XIX, pp. 348), Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 887-92), Munshi (*G.T.W.G.*, III, p. 174).
   The disruption of Paramāra kingdom is also proved by the Ingnoda stone inscription (V.S. 1190=A.D. 1133) which reveals the existence of an independent state within about 50 miles to the N.E. of Ujjain (*I.A.*, VI, pp. 55-6; *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 885; *H.O.P.D.*, p. 165). Yet another part of Malwa was ruled over by one Ballāla, variously described as the ruler of Avanti, Mālava or Dhārā. He might have been the governor of Jagadekkamalla II, the Cālukya king of Kalyāṇī, who claims to have defeated the Paramāras about this time with the assistance of Hoysala Narasiṁha I; Cf. *H.O.P.D.*, pp. 171-72; *C.O.G.*, p. 78; *I.A.*, LXI, p. 192.

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a suitable opportunity to their Candella neighbour for fishing in the troubled waters. Madanavarman might even have grabbed some parts of their territory and his presence near Bhilsa (*Bhaillasvāmī-samīp-āvāse*) on the borders of Mālava in A.D. 1134,[1] might not be unconnected with that event.

The Cedi king who is stated to have fled even before his name, 'vanquished in fierce fight', might have been Gayākarṇa (c. 1123-1153).[2] The times were certainly hard for the Cedis. One of the predecessors of Gayākarṇa, probably his father Yaśaḥkarṇa (c. 1073-1123 A.D.), had been severely defeated by the Paramāra king Lakṣmadeva (c. 1086-1094 A.D.),[3] and the Gāhaḍavāla king Govindacandra had also made encroachments upon the Cedi territory.[4] Madanavarman might have taken advantage of the difficulties of his southern neighbour and aggrandised himself at his expense. The Panwar hoard of his coins[5] possibly suggests the annexation of a part of the Cedi dominions i.e. Baghelkhand area to the north of the Kaimur Range.

The Kāśirāja referred to in the Mau inscription can be no other than the powerful Gāhaḍavāla potentate Govindacandra who is known to have been ruling between A.D. 1114 and 1154. The record only states that 'the king of Kāśī always passes his time in friendly behaviour'. The Gāhaḍavāla records, too, do not mention any conflict with the Candellas during this period. Govindacandra who was aggrandising himself at the expense of the Cedis might have considered

1. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, l. 10 (text). The Augasi plate issued from Bhilsa and the Varidurga grant recording gift of villages within 50 miles of that town (*E.I.*, IV, p. 158) prove that the Candellas 'had crossed the Betwa in the south-west and crossed into Paramāra territory', Cf. *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 229.
   Madana is believed to have annexed Vidisa (Bhilsa) by defeating Yaśovarman (*S.F.E.*, p. 59; *A.I.*, p. 328).
2. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. civ and cxcii; *S.F.E.*, p. 59; *H.O.T.*, p. 27.
3. *E.I.*, II, pp. 186, 193, v. 39.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI (1862), pp. 123-24.
   Yaśaḥkarṇa probably also suffered reverses at the hands of Sallakṣaṇavarman Candella, Vikramāditya VI Cālukya and his feudatory Ācugi II. Gayākarṇa was himself defeated by Ratnadeva II of Dakṣiṇa Kośala; Cf. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. ciii-cv.
5. *J A.S.B.* (N.S., 1914), X, pp. 199-200.

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it prudent to maintain friendly relations with his Candella neighbour.[1]

One of the Kālañjara epigraphs records that Madanavarman 'in an instant defeated the king of Gurjara, as Kṛṣṇa in former times defeated Kaṁsa'.[2] This Gurjara king is certainly identical with the Cālukya ruler Jayasiṁha Siddharāja. Both the Candellas and the Cālukyas had been aggrandising themselves at the expense of the Paramāras. Jayasiṁha's annexation of Mālava must have been resented by the Candellas, and made a clash between the two ambitious rulers inevitable. Canda Baradāyī corroborates the version of the Kālañjara inscription, and refers to the defeat of the Cālukya ruler.[3]

The Gujrat chronicles, however, have another story to tell. The *Kumārapālacarita* claims that Jayasiṁha defeated Madanavarman, the lord of Mahoba, while according to *Kīrtikaumudī* the latter taking a lesson from the fate of Dhārā presented him with sums of money under the colour of his

1. The *Raṁbhāmañjarī* of Nayacandra credits Govindacandra with a victory in Daśārṇa (vide, *H.O.K.*, p. 311). Madanavarman's successor Paramardideva has been styled 'Daśārṇādhinātha' in a Kālañjara inscription (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, Pt. I, p. 315), but Daśārṇa usually denotes Eastern Malwa. Dr. Roma Niyogi's suggestion that Govindacandra's conquest of Daśārṇa might have been achieved with the help of the Candella ruler whose 'kingdom lay between it and the Gāhaḍavāla dominion (*H.O.G.D.*, p. 81) may be correct. Dr. Bose's theory of a war between Govindacandra and Madanavarman is based on the erroneous identification of a Chhatarpur in Kanpur district with the Chhatarpur in Bundelkhand (*H.O.C.*, p. 88).
Certain other scholars also believe that there was a strong rivalry between Madanavarman and Govindacandra. The latter is even stated to have defeated the Candellas and wrested eastern Malwa from them; Cf., *C.O.G.*, p. 77; *S.F.E.*, p. 59; *A.I.*, pp. 316 and 331. However, there is no convincing evidence to support their view.
The *Raṁbhāmañjarī* does mention a Madanavarman, defeated by the Gāhaḍavālas, but it describes him as the ruler of Lāṭa.

2. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, pp. 318-19, l. 14 :
अजीयत गुर्ज्जरेशः क्षणेन कृष्णेन पुरेव कंसः ।

3. *P.R.*, p. 27, vs. 91-92 :
तिन राजा गुजरात मँह कर्‌यो अखडित राज ।
Cf. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 144.

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being a guest.[1] Cunningham believed that Madanavarman's claim to victory over the Gurjareśa represents the same campaign as that against the Paramāras,[2] but Gujrat chroniclers' assertion that Jayasiṁha proceeded from Dhārā to Kālañjara seems to be confirmed by the discovery of his coins at Pandwaha in Jhansi district.[3] The conflict between Madanavarman and Jayasiṁha appears to have been inconclusive—each claiming victory for himself. None of the two belligerents gained any decisive advantage.[4]

1. *Kumārapālacarita*, I. 42.
Kīrtikaumudī, II, 33 :

धाराध्वंस प्रसङ्गेन यस्य सान्निध्यशङ्कितः ।
प्राघूर्णकमिषाद्दण्डं महोबकपतिर्ददौ ॥

The authenticity of another verse in the text :

महोबकपुराधीशाज्जितान्मदनवर्मणः ।
कोटीः षण्णवतीर्हेम्नो यस्तन्मानमिवाददे ॥

is doubted by the learned editor, *Ib.*, p. 12, n. 10.
Kumārapāla-prabandha (pp. 7-8) gives an interesting story of the relations between Madanavarman and Jayasiṁha. The latter was informed by a bard that the Candella king maintained as splendid a court as his own and that he was a very wise, liberal and pleasure-loving ruler. When his statement was confirmed by another person who was deputed by the Cālukya king to check the veracity of the bard's version, he marched against the Candella ruler. Encamping on the outskirts of the capital city of Mahoba, he called upon Madanavarman to surrender. The latter, immersed in the pleasures of the spring festival, not only paid no heed to the demand for surrender but reminded the Cālukyan emissary of Jayasiṁha's twelve years war with Mālava, and contemptuously asked his minister to pay some money to the invader and ask him to return. Money was, accordingly, paid but Jayasiṁha was so struck by the nonchalance of Madanavarman that he would not return before being received by the latter. He went to the royal palace with a large retinue but was allowed to enter the palace with only four attendants. He was, however, received with great hospitality and returned to his capital peacefully. Munshi regards this story as 'fanciful', and believes that Jayasiṁha 'met with little success' in his encounter with Madanavarman, *G.T.W.G.*, II, p. 320 and n. 89.
2. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 454.
3. *J.R.A.S.*, 1938, p. 141.
4. Cf. Bombay Gazetteer, I, pt. I, pp. 178-79; also, *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 144; *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 710 and 971. But see *S.F.E.*, p. 59 and *A.I.*, pp. 331, 333.

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Cunningham noticed a fragmentary inscription from Mahoba dated V.S. 1240, but he could not detect any king's name in it. Dr. Chakravarti, however, reads the name of Madanavarman in the fourth line, and in the next line there is a vague reference to wars with Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga. The record might have referred to Madanavarman's compaigns in the East.[1]

Epigraphic evidence tends to show that the Candella monarch could not retain all the territories that he had conquered. The find-spots of the Lal Pahad (A.D. 1158) and Alhaghat (A.D. 1159) inscriptions[2] to the north of the Kaimur Range seem to suggest that Gayākarṇa's successor Narasiṁha Kalacuri (1153-1163 A.D.) had recovered certain portions of Baghelkhand from the Candellas.[3] Likewise, they appear to have lost their conquests in the Paramāra territory to Yaśovarman's son Lakṣmīvarman, sometimes before 1143 A.D. The Ujjain grant of the latter confirms in V.S. 1200 (A.D. 1143-4) a grant made by his father in V.S. 1191 (A.D. 1134) in Mahādvādaśaka *maṇḍala*[4] (also known as Bhaillasvāmī Mahādvādaśaka *maṇḍala*).[5] It suggests that territories in the Mahādvādaśaka *maṇḍala*, adjacent to Bhaillasvāmī, that had been conquered by Madanavarman were recovered by Lakṣmīvarman, and that necessitated the reconfirmation of the earlier grant.[6]

The Bharat Kala Bhavan Plates of Madanavarman (V.S. 1192) mention the names of his three queens, viz., Vālhaṇadevī, Lakhamādevī, and Cāndala (or Candella) devī. Of these the first is styled *Mahārājñī* and the rest *Rājñi*.[7] A Kālañjara record mentions the name of his younger brother (*bhrātā*

1. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 72; *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, p. 94.
   Dr. Mirashi attributes these conquests to Paramardideva, *Infra*, p. 143.
2. *C.I.I.*, IV, Nos. 61 & 62.
3. Cf. Mirashi, *Ib.*, pp. cv-cvi; Ray, *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 794.
4. *I.A.*, XIX, pp. 351-53. Cf. also, the Bhopal plates of Hariścandra, who grants a village in the same *maṇḍala* in A.D. 1157 (*E.I.*, XXIV, p. 225-34).
5. *Ibid.*, XVIII, p. 347, l. 5 (text).
6. Cf. Chakravarti, *E.I.*, XXIV, p. 230.
7. *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 122.

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kanīyān) Pratāpavarman.[1] Other records mention some of his civil and military officials. The Semra plates of his successor Paramardideva, which confirm a grant of Madanavarman, mention Senāpati Ajayapāla, son of Senāpati Kīlhaṇa.[2] His Prime Minister (*Mantri Mukhya*) was the Brāhmaṇa Gadādhara, who had already served his father in the same capacity. The Mau stone inscription gives him the credit for establishing the suzerain authority of his master, and eulogises him for the knowledge of the Vedas, virtuous conduct, generosity and 'pious and beneficial acts', which included the construction of a temple dedicated to Viṣṇu (Nārāyaṇa) and of a tank 'charming with its masonry of many broad stones' on the boundary of Deddu village. The inscription is unfortunately broken at the end and his other benefactions, including the construction of another tank, are not decipherable.[3] Lāhaḍa, also a Brāhmaṇa, noted for his learning and proficiency in arts, was another minister, who served this ruler. Madanavarman is stated to have placed him at the head of his counsellors 'just as the god of love does the cool-rayed (moon), when about to subdue the three worlds'.[4] The name of his *Mahā-pratīhāra*, Saṁgrāmasiṁha is recorded in a Kālañjara inscription.[5]

A number of towns and tanks in the different parts of Bundelkhand perpetuate Madanavarman's memory to the present day. These include Madanapura in Jhansi district, Madanakhera near Mahoba, and Madaneśasāgarapura,[6] now marked by the ruins of a temple in Ahara (Tikamgadh), Madanasāgara, about three miles in circuit, in Mahoba, and two other equally large tanks of the same name in Jatara and Ahara-Narayanpura in Tikamgadh. Beautiful temples once

1. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, p. 318, l. 15 (text). Vaidya (*H.M.H.I.*, III, p. 179) erroneouslly describes him as his eldest son.
2. *E.I.*, IV, p. 158, l. 19 (text).
3. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 201-2, 206-7, vs. 42-49.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 213, vs. 19-20.
5. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 34.
6. The name 'Madaneśasāgarapura' is mentioned in the Ahara image inscription (*Ahāra*, p. 15).
   Madanavarman's name is also found on buildings at Kālañjara and Ajayagadh, *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 134.

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adorned the banks of these tanks. A fine granite temple, dedicated to Śiva, now known as Kakramarha, which stands on a rocky islet in the north-west corner of the lake at Mahoba, is still fairly complete. The ruins of another temple, dedicated to Viṣṇu, exist on a second islet in the same lake. The site of the temple on the bank of Madaneśasāgarapura lake is now marked by a heap of beautifully carved stone pieces. A number of images recovered in the locality, and now housed in the college building at Tikamgadh, are fine specimens of the Candella art.[1] The images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras discovered at Mahoba, Khajuraho, Ahara, Papaura and elsewhere are also fine pieces of sculpture. Some of them are also remarkable for their beautiful polish aud furnish proof of the enlightened religious outlook of this great ruler.

The reign of Madanavarman marks a glorious epoch in the history of the Candellas. He might not have made any large scale conquests and annexations, but he certainly restored the prestige of his family, and 'restored respect for it among the contemporary powers'. A Gujrat chronicler, Jina-maṇḍana, alludes to his wisdom, liberality, and pleasure-loving nature, as well as to the splendour of his court.[2]

The place-names mentioned in the records of his reign and their provenance enable us to form an idea of the extent of his kingdom. The inscriptions found at Kālañjara, Ajayagadh, Mahoba and Khajuraho prove the possession of the four important towns, traditionally associated with the Candellas. Other epigraphs of his reign have been found at Mau, Augasi and Papaura, respectively, in Jhansi, Banda and Tikamgadh districts. The Augasi plate proves the inclusion of Bhilsa (Vidisa), from where the charter was issued, within his dominion. Another copper-plate issued from Vārīdurga (Barigar in Charkhari) mentions the names of several villages and *viṣayas*. Such of

1. According to local tradition, the fine temple on the bank of Madanasāgara was destroyed by the Muslims. A large number of images is reported to have been recovered from the lake. Most of the stone pieces of the temple have been removed to Ahara and Tikamgadh and utilised in the construction of new buildings. The remains still lying scattered all round the locality show that it must have been a very flourishing town in the past.
2. *Kumārapāla-prabandha*, pp. 7-8.

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these names as can be identified indicate the inclusion of the southern part of Jhansi district and the contiguous Sagar and Damoh districts within his dominion and, as already stated, the find of his coins at Panwar probably suggests the inclusion of a part of the former Rewah state within it. Local tradition also includes Bilhari (Jabalpur district), Singauragarh and the territory as far south as the Bhanrer Range within his dominion.[1] Dr. Ray rightly observes that 'the territories of Madanavarman were probably included more or less in the triangle of which the base was formed by the Vindhya, Bhanrer and Kaimur ranges, and the two sides by the rivers Betwa and Jumna, and the northern boundary line of Baghelkhand'.[2]

We may not agree with Cunningham that the Candella kingdom attained its greatest extent during the reign of Madanavarman,[3] but it cannot be denied that it witnessed the restoration of Candella power and prestige to a remarkable degree. Gujrat chroniclers, too, allude to its economic prosperity as well as to the magnificence of the court of its ruler. *Paramāla Rāso* also testifies to the prosperity of Madanavarman's reign who is said to have performed *yugula yajña* (Rājasūya and Aśvamedha ?) at Mahoba, constructed a number of tanks and temples and made large-scale gifts of gold, jewels, horses and elephants to the Brāhmaṇas.[4]

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 144.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 711.
3. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 86.
4. *P.R.*, p. 27, vs. 91-93.

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CHAPTER IX

THE LAST GREAT RULER

PARAMARDIDEVA (c. 1165-1203 A.D.)

Paramardideva, popularly known as Paramāla, is the most widely known of all the Candella kings. His fame, however, rests not so much on his achievements as on his association with the two popular heroes, Ālhā and Ūdala. His chronological position, too, is a bit uncertain. The copper-plates issued by Paramardideva himself or by his successors state that he 'meditated on the feet' (*pādānudhyāta*) of Madanavarman,[1] thereby possibly suggesting that he was the immediate successor of the latter. The same fact is also asserted by certain stone inscriptions which place his name immediately after that of Madanavarman, with the remark '*athābhavat* (then came)'.[2] The Semra plates, however, state that Madanavarman was Paramardin's grandfather (*pitāmaha*),[3] but even this record does not mention his father's name, which is known to us only from the Baghari stone inscription. It states that 'as the moon, the crest-jewel of Maheśvara (arose) from the ocean, so was born from him (Madanavarman) Yaśovarman, who was an ornament of great rulers (*maheśvara-śiromaṇi*), causing joy to the people', and adds that 'from him (*Yaśovarman*) has sprung Paramardideva....'[4]

1. Cf. *E.I.*, IV, p. 157; X, p. 47; XVI, p. 275; XX, p. 133; XXXII, pp. 124-25, 127, etc.
2. *Ibid.*, I, p. 327, ll. 4-5 (text).
3. *Ibid.*, IV, p. 158, l. 13 (text).
4. *Ibid.*, I, p 212, vs. 8, 10.
   As pointed out by Smith, Yaśovarman of the epigraphic records 'corresponds in position with the synonymous Kīrtivarman who is inserted between Madanavarman and Paramardi' in bardic tradition, *I A.*, XXXVII, p. 129.

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In view of the conflicting evidence set forth above, the question naturally arises as to who was the immediate successor of Madanavarman, his son Yaśovarman or his grandson Paramardin. The Baghari epigraph suggests that it was the former. However, as this record also omits his name while enumerating the achievements of the ministers who had served under various kings of the dynasty, it may be inferred that Yaśovarman did not reign and that the epithet '*maheśvara-śiromaṇi*' applied to him is mere rhetoric.[1] There is also no appreciable gap between the last known date of Madanavarman (V.S. 1220) and the earliest one of Paramardin (V.S. 1223). It hardly leaves any room for an intervening sovereign, unless we believe that he had an exceptionally brief reign. The exclusion of Yaśovarman from the records of Paramardideva and his successors may be due to the fact that he had predeceased his father.[2] That Paramardin came to the throne in his infancy, at the age of five, is evidenced by *Paramāla Rāso*.[3] The same fact is also hinted at in an Ajayagadh inscription which describes him as 'leader even in his childhood (*bāl-opi netā*)'. Its further statement that 'the fortune of universal sovereignty quickly came (to him), like an enamoured damsel choosing him of her own free will'[4] may also be suggestive of Paramardin's succession to the throne at an early age, on the premature death of his father.

1. The epithet '*Maheśvara-śiromaṇi*' has led Dr. Ray to believe that Yaśovarman was the immediate successor of Madanavarman, though he might have had 'a very short tenure of power' (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 712). Dr. Sircar, on the other hand, believes that the epithet would be 'justified even if Yaśovarman was the ruler of a district under his father'. He further adds : 'if Paramardi really succeeded his father, the latter's name should not have been omitted from the former's charters', *E I*, XXXII, p. 118, n. 1.
   According to Dr. Chakravarti the epithet may only mean that Yaśovarman was a great devotee of Śiva.
2. Cf. Smith, *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 129, 144.
   Dr. Ray (*D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 712), following Kielhorn's translation of v. 9 of the Baghari inscription (*E.I.*, I, p. 212), finds in it a possible hint of Yaśovarman's untimely end. Dr. N.P. Chakravarti, however, regards Kielhorn's translation as 'definitely wrong', and holds that 'there is no suggestion of Yaśovarman's early death in this verse'.
3. *P.R.*, p. 28, v. 102.
4. *E.I.*, I, pp. 327, 329, v. 6.

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Dr. Ray does not rule out the possibility of a disputed succession. He says : 'the absence of Yaśovarman's name from his son's grants may probably indicate that the son's succession to the throne was not entirely peaceful. Instances in history are not rare when a grandson had tried to supersede his father. If Khusrau failed in the 17th century Paramardi may have succeeded in the 12th.'[1] The suggestion does not inspire conviction. Had it been so, a minister of Paramardideva himself would not have eulogised Yaśovarman in his record. Secondly, the age of Paramardin at the time of his accession to the throne also militates against the view of Dr. Ray.

Paramardin, who lived at a most critical period in our history, was blessed with a long reign of more than thirty-five years. Besides the Paramāla and Pṛthvīrāja *rāsos* and the *Ballad of Ālhā*, which profess to throw light on the events of his age, we have a fairly large number of epigraphic records of his own reign. Paramardin also finds a prominent mention in the inscriptions of his contemporaries and successors. Still, the authentic history of his reign remains shrouded in obscurity.

The historicity of the two *rāsos* has been rightly questioned, and most of the epigraphs contain little more than his name and a date. Others eulogise him in terms which convey information of no historical importance. Thus, the Semra plates, which have a beautiful verse in praise of this ruler, merely state that he was an unrivalled creation of the Creator, surpassing Cupid in beauty, Ocean in depth, the Lord of Heaven in majesty, Bṛhaspati in wisdom, and Yudhiṣṭhira in truthful speech.[2] Similarly, the Baghari stone inscription alludes to his suzerain authority and credits him with victories against unnamed rivals, when it tells us that his 'footstool is pale-red with the lustre of the crest-jewels of kings bowing down (before him—*namra-narendra-mauli-ratna-prabhā-paṭala pāda-pīṭhaḥ*)'; that he 'crushes the pride in their arms of

1. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 712-13.
2. *E I.*, IV, p. 157, ll. 4-6 (text) :

सौन्दर्यम्मकरध्वजे जलनिधौगाम्भीर्यमर्यादिवो-
ध्यैश्वर्य धिषणो धियञ्च तपसः सत्याञ्च वाचं सुते
सष्ट्वाभ्यासवशाद्गते परिणति निर्माणशिल्पे ध्रुवं
यत्रासौ निरमाय्यनन्यसदृशो धात्रा गुणानांगणः ।।

This verse also occurs in an earlier record of Paramardin's grandfather, *Ib.*, XXXII, p. 121.

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crowds of antagonists, filled with no mean conceit', and that 'the fire of his prowess spreads, unchecked, over the habitations of his rivals (*sapatna-sadmaṣu*)'. The same record further states that 'when he marched out to conquer the regions, the clouds of dust raised by the hoofs of his horses, suffering from intense heat as it were because they had devoured the rays of the sun, swallowed the water of the sea'.[1] This passage would suggest his advance upto the sea in the course of his *digvijaya*, but very probably it is mere rhetoric and not a sober fact. The Ajayagadh rock inscription of his granddaughter-in-law Kalyāṇadevī also tells us that Paramardideva, 'struck down opposing heroes', and that 'the fortune of universal sovereignty quickly came (to him), like an enamoured damsel choosing him of her own free will'.[2] Likewise, we read in the Kālañjara stone inscription : 'He, the greatest of kings, having drunk, like draughts of honey and curd, the shining fame of the kings, his enemies.... (became the husband of the earth, which without resistance completed the ceremony of marriage)'. This record also describes the pitiable condition of his adversaries : some of them were 'easily made prisoners and kept in his own house.... In a moment he caused some of them to wander from house to house; ...some...were seeking safety for their life within the walls (of some castle). Of the long arm of this king his enemies were afraid as of their fatal enemy'.[3] The height of courtly panegyrics is reached in the following statement : 'Thou firmament move on, and ye quarters of the world, proceed, and thou earth enlarge. Ye who have witnessed the widespread fame of former kings. now behold the rising glory of the fame of king Paramardi, which like a pomegranate bursting by the swelling of its seeds, extends over the world'.[4]

1. *Ibid.*, I, p. 212, vs. 10, 12-13.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 327, 329, v. 6.
3. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, p. 316, ll. 25-26. Also *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 37.
4. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, pp. 315-16, l. 28 :

   आकाश प्रसर प्रसर्पत दिशस्त्वंपृथ्वि पृथ्वी भव
   प्रत्यक्षीकृतमादिराजयशसां युष्माभिरुज्जृम्भितम् ।
   प्रेक्षध्वं परमर्द्दिपार्थिवयशोराशेविकाशोदयाद्
   बीजोच्छ्वासविदीर्णदाडिममिव ब्रह्माण्डमारोहति ॥

   This verse also occurs in *P.C.M.*, p. 116, v. 257.

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The inscriptions mentioned above refer to his conquests only in vague conventional phrases. It is only a fragmentary inscription from Mahoba of V.S. 1240 (A.D. 1183) that specifically refers to his victory over the contemporary Cedi king. It states that 'the lord of Tripurī fainted whenever he heard the songs of valour of his (Paramardin's) arms'.[1] The *Tripurīpati* may be identified with Jayasiṁha (1163-1188 A.D.).[2] This inscription also alludes to Paramardin's *digvijaya* campaigns in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga,[3] but these are not corroborated by any other evidence.

A predecessor of his had detained the wives of the earthly rulers in his prison-house,[4] but Paramardideva made even the rulers divine anxious for the safety of their better-halves.[5] The gods, however, could not tolerate this threat, and let loose their fury in the form of vast hordes of Mlecchas, who vanquished the vainglorious king, and made him lick the dust at the very spot where he had recorded his proud boast only a few months earlier.

The claims of Paramardideva to an unbeaten record of extensive conquests and universal sovereignty are, however, not supported by the records of his contemporaries. The early years of his reign appear to have been peaceful, but in the eighties of the twelfth century he had to encounter a most

1. मधुरति धत्ते लये च त्रिपुरीपतिः ।
मूर्च्छनामेव संधत्ते गीते यद्भुजविक्रमे ॥
Bhārata Kaumudī, I, p. 438, v. 6.
The word *mūrcchanā* in this verse has a *double entendre*, meaning (i) a swoon, and (ii) a melody. So, the verse also means that the king of Tripurī sings a melody in praise of Paramardin, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. cvii, n. 3.
2. *Ibid.*
Earlier, Dr. Mirashi had identified him with Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.D.), *Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, p. 436.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 437, v. 4.
4. *Supra*, p. 56.
5. कीर्तिस्ते नृप दूतिका मुरारिपोरङ्के स्थितामिइन्दिरा ।
मानीय प्रददौ तवेति गिरिशः श्रुत्वार्द्धनारीश्वरः ॥
ब्रह्माभूच्चतुरानन: सुरपतिश्चक्षुः सहस्रं दधौ ।
स्कन्दो मन्दमतिर्विवाहविमुखो धत्ते कुमारव्रत्तं ॥
Vide, Gorelal Tiwari, *Bundelkhanda kā Saṁkṣipta Itihāsa*, p. 52, n. 1, quoting from the Kālañjara inscription of Paramardin. This verse, however, does not occur in the text published in *J.A.S.B.*, XVII.

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formidable rival in Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna, who was aspiring for supremacy in Northern India. A clash between the Candellas and the Cāhamānas was inevitable, but the conflict was provoked by a trivial incident.

The traditional account of the war between Paramardin and Pṛthvīrāja is preserved in the *Paramāla Rāso*, *Ālhakhaṇḍa* and *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, but their attitude is partisan and does not stand the test of sober history. According to these sources, hostilities were provoked by Paramardin, against the advice of his counsellors, by attacking a handful of Cāhamāna soldiers who had strayed into his garden, while returning home from one of the marital forays of their master.[1] *Paramāla Rāso* mentions the route followed by Pṛthvīrāja as well as the different stages of his march to Mahoba. The first encounter between the Cāhamānas and the Candella forces led by Malakhāna, a cousin of Ālhā, took place on the banks of Pahuj river, near Sirsagadh. Malakhāna fought bravely and laid down his life on the battle-field. Pṛthvīrāja marched towards Mahoba, after the fall of Sirsagadh and encamped on the bank of Betwa, where the final engagement took place.[2] Tradition also testifies to the important role played by the Candella queen, Malhanā Devī, in the king's counsels and in the conduct of war and negotiations with the Cāhamāna ruler.[3] In spite of the heroic

1. For the Candella-Cāhamāna war see *P.R.*, Chs. 3 ff., *Pr.R.*, Mahoba yuddha samaya, pp. 2507-2615, and *Ālhakhaṇḍa*, the last battle of the Banāphara brothers. Later works like *Balabhadravilāsa* and *Vīravilāsa* also give an account of this war, but their version is mainly based on that of *Pr.R.*
   According to certain Mss. of *P.R.*, Pṛthvīrāja invaded the Candella kingdom in V.S. 1140. The learned editor of the text, considering it to be an evident mistake, corrected the date as V.S. 1240 (*P.R.*, IV. 112, and Introduction, p. 8). However, this date, too, does not tally with the Madanpur epigraphs. The *Kharataragaccha-paṭṭāvalī* (p. 25), on the other hand, states that the Cāhamāna ruler had started on his *digvijaya* campaign in V.S. 1239. It mentions no names, but Dr. Sharma rightly surmises 'that he was at the time proceeding to Jejākabhukti' (*E.C.D.*, p. 74).
2. *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 145; *A.S.R.*, II, p. 455.
3. *Balabhadravilāsa* is highly complimentary to the queen styled *nīti-madvijña*. It makes her say :

   बिनायुद्धमहीपालस्तथासर्वक्षयंविना ।
   तृणमात्रम्महोवस्य न प्राप्नोति चतुर्भुजः ॥ (६८.३९)

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resistance offered by Banāphara brothers, Ālhā and Ūdala, and the assistance offered by Jayacandra of Kanauj, the Candellas were utterly routed.

The Candella epigraphs do not allude to this conflict, but in his Madanpur inscriptions Pṛthvīrāja claims to have defeated Paramardin and ravaged Jejākabhukti in V.S. 1239 (A.D. 1182).[1] Madanpur at the head of an important pass leading from Sagar to Lalitpur and Gwalior, is on the confines of Lalitpur and Sagar districts, and these inscriptions would indicate the advance of the Cāhamānas at least upto that point, after their conquest of Mahoba.

All accounts agree that the battle for Mahoba was fiercely contested, resulting in many casualties and severe loss to both the sides.[2] *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso* also alludes to the craven conduct of the Candella king, who is said to have sought safety in the fortress of Kālañjara, leaving the conduct of the battle in the hands of Prince Brahmajit and his Banāphara generals.[3] In spite of the heroic resistance offered by the Candellas, Mahoba fell to Pṛthvīrāja. It was sacked and occupied. Kālañjara, too, did not escape. It fell to the Cāhamāna general Cāmuṇḍa Rāya, who also captured Paramardin. *Pṛthvīrāja Rāso*, which abruptly ends here, states that Pṛthvīrāja appointed Pajjūna Rāya as the *thānāpati* of Mahoba and left for Delhi. *Paramāla Rāso* adds that while the Cāhamāna general was returning from Kālañjara along with his prize-catch, Indala Kumāra, a son of Ālhā, fell upon him in a surprise attack and liberated Paramardin.[4]

1. *A.S.R.*, X, p. 98; XXI, pp. 173-74; *P.R.A.S.*, *W.C.*, 1903-4, p. 55.
2. The statement in *Pr.R.* that Paramardin was so badly defeated that only 200 of his warriors could escape death is undoubtedly a gross exaggeration. The Muslim chroniclers bear witness to the stiff resistance that he was able to offer to Kutub-ud-din Aibak in 1203 A.D.
3. Cf. also *Sāraṅgadharapaddhati* (v. 1254) and *P.C.M.* (p. 116, v. 258), which state that Paramardin saved himself by putting a piece of straw in his mouth. In the latter work he is wrongly described as the king of Kuntala, Cf. *E.C.D.*, p. 75, n. 17.
4. *P.R.*, Antimakhaṇḍa, pp. 535-36.
Pajjūna Rāya, too, is alleged to have been driven out of Mahoba by Samarjit, a son of Paramardin, *Infra*, pp. 154-55.

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We do not know what credence should be attached to these bardic accounts, but it is certain that the Cāhamānas could not retain their hold over Candella territory for any length of time. Inscriptions from Kālañjara and Mahoba reveal that they were in possession of Paramardin in V.S. 1240,[1] within a year of the Cāhamāna invasion. The title *Daśārṇādhināṭha* given to Paramardin in one of his later inscriptions[2] (V.S. 1258) also proves that he had recovered the territories lost to the Cāhamānas. Pṛthvīrāja himself claims not the conquest but merely the devastation of Jejākabhukti. A severe blow was inflicted upon the Candellas, but Paramardin retrieved the situation with amazing alacrity within a short period.

We must also discuss here the relations between Jayacandra Gāhaḍavāla and Paramardin. In view of the traditional good relations between the two dynasties, it may be presumed safely that the former helped the latter in his war against the Cāhamānas. Jayacandra, who was himself aspiring for supremacy in Northern India and nursed a grudge against Pṛthvīrāja, must have readily offered help to the Candellas. The friendly relations between the rulers of Kanauj and Mahoba are further confirmed by the Bhārat Kalā Bhavan plate of Paramardin, which records a grant made by him on Phālguna Sudi 14, V.S. 1247 (February 9, 1191) from Maṇikarṇikā *ghāṭa* in Vārāṇasī.[3] As pointed out by Dr. Sircar, there is no evidence to show that Vārāṇasī formed part of Candella dominion about that time, while the Gāhaḍavālas are known to have had their second capital there. Had Paramardin succeeded in capturing Vārāṇasī even for a short time that fact 'is not expected to have been suppressed in his record . . .' 'Apparently', he was there, 'in the course of a pilgrimage'.[4]

Dr. Pathak's suggestion that Paramardin visited Vārāṇasī on his way to Gāhaḍavāla capital on the occasion of Jayacan-

1. *E.I.*, V, Appendix, p. 26 No. 178; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 71, & p. 82, no. 48; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 135; *J.A.S.B.*, XLVIII (1879), pp. 143-44.
2. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, p. 315.
   The Bhārat Kalā Bhavan plate of Paramardin (V.S. 1239) mentioning the grant of Vavauda village (*E.I.*, XXXII, p. 125), only 16 miles distant from Madanpur, may also indicate the recovery of the territory that had been lost to Pṛthvīrāja, within a few months.
3. *Ibid.*, XXXII, p. 127, ll. 8-9 (text).
4. *Ibid.*, p 126.

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dra's *Rājasūya Yajña*, as his ally,[1] is not altogether improbable.

Twenty years later, Paramardideva had to encounter a more formidable foe. Even the repeated expeditions of Mahmud had failed to shake off the self-complacency of Indian rulers or to teach them a lesson in unity. They were so engrossed in their petty internecine feuds that they failed to dislodge the aliens from their soil, and when more than a century and a half later Muhammad Ghori knocked at their gates they were no better prepared to resist him. They failed to unite even in the face of a common national danger, and individually they proved no match to the superior forces of the invader. The ancestors of Paramardideva had marched their forces to the distant Peshawar to join the national coalition against the Ghaznavid invaders, but he did not bestir himself when the fortunes of the Cāhamānas were being laid low at Tarain in A.D. 1192. The defeat of Pṛthvīrāja III resulted in the establishment of Muslim sovereignty in Delhi and in the first flush of success Muhammad Ghori and his able lieutenants overthrew almost all the important ruling dynasties of Northern India and annexed their states to his dominions. Paramardideva's turn came in A.D. 1203.

With the defeat of Jayacandra Gāhaḍavāla and the annexation of Banaras and Asni in 1193-4 A.D., the frontiers of the Delhi Sultanate touched those of the Candellas. As the Muslims could not tolerate the existence of a hostile and powerful Hindu state, which had defied even Sultan Mahmud, so close to their borders, the Candellas could not long escape their aggressive designs.

Kutub-ud-din made elaborate preparations and 'having girded up (his) loins', he proceeded at the head of a huge army to invest Kālañjara. The *Taj-ul-Masir*, which gives a detailed account of his operations in Jejākabhukti, states that 'in the year 599 A.H., Kutub-ud-din proceeded to the investment of Kalinjar.... The accursed Parmar, the Rai of Kalinjar, fled into the fort after a desperate resistance in the field, and afterwards surrendered himself, and 'placed the collar of subjection' round his neck, and, on his promise of allegiance, was

1. *Bhārati*, II (Hindi), pp. 23-34.

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admitted to the same favours as his ancestor had experienced from Mahmud Subuktigin, and engaged to make a payment of tribute and elephants, but he died a natural death before he could execute any of his engagements. His Diwan, or *Mahatea*, by name Aj Deo, was not disposed to surrender so easily as his master, and gave his enemies much trouble, until he was compelled to capitulate, in consequence of severe drought having dried up all the reservoirs of water in the forts. On Monday, the 20th of Rajab, the garrison, in an extreme state of weakness and distraction, came out of the fort, and by compulsion left their native place empty, and the fort of Kalinjar which was celebrated throughout the world for being as strong as the wall of Alexander, was taken. The temples were converted into mosques, and abodes of goodness, and the ejaculations of the bead-counters and the voices of the summoners to prayer ascended to the highest heaven, and the very name of idolatry was annihilated. Fifty thousand men came under the collar of slavery and the plain became black as pitch with Hindus'. The last sentence would give an idea of the dogged resistance offered by the defenders. 'Elephants and cattle, and countless arms also, became the spoil of the victors'. Mahoba was captured, and Muslim governor, Hazabbar-ud-din Hasan Arnal, was stationed at Kālañjara[1] to administer the newly acquired territory. However, as we shall see in the following pages, the famous stronghold was recovered, before long, by the Candellas. Firishta, though in general agreement with the above, differs in his account of the death of Paramardideva. According to him, the Candella king, being hard-pressed, offered to submit, but his minister, 'who resolved to hold out without coming to terms, caused his master to be assassinated...' and continued the struggle till he was forced to capitulate. Kutub-ud-din subsequently marched to Mahoba and captured that city also.[2] Though 'there

1. *E. & D.*, II, p. 231.
   Cf. also, *T.N.* (*R.*), p. 523.
2. *T.F.*(*B.*), I, pp. 197-98.
   Indian tradition, however, gives an altogether different version of the death of Paramardin. Both *Pr.R.* and *P.R.* state that he put an end to his life after his defeat at the hands of Pṛthvīrāja. The inaccuracy of this tradition is exposed by a number of dated

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is no agreement among Muslim chroniclers regarding either the date or the course of events'[1] regarding the siege of Kālañjara, there is no reason to disbelieve the statement of the contemporary authority.

The Candella records mention certain civil and military officials who had served under Paramardideva. The Baghari inscription gives us the name of his prime minister, Sallakṣaṇa, a Brāhmaṇa of Vaśiṣṭha *gotra*, on whose arm the king had 'placed the whole (burden) of government', and through whom he had become 'a lord of earth'. The minister is eulogised for his virtuous conduct and is credited with the construction of two temples, respectively, dedicated to Viṣṇu and Śiva. On his death, his son Puruṣottama, though young in years (*śiśu*) succeeded to the post. The record also mentions Gadādhara, the minister of peace and war (*sandhāna-vigraha mahāsaciva*).[2] The Ajayagadh inscription of the time of Bhojavarman brings to light another *saciva* of Paramardideva, viz. the Kāyastha Gaṅgādhara, who held the post of *Kañcukin* also. Both Gaṅgādhara and his brother Jauṇādhara are said to

inscriptions issued by Paramardin himself, subsequent to the Cāhamāna war.

We may also notice here another self-contradiction in the bardic tradition. It is unanimous in representing that the 'cowardly' king instead of participating in the war had retired to the safety of Kālañjara, leaving his son Brahmajit to lead the forces. *Paramāla Rāso* states that Paramardin was only five years of age at the time of his accession (c. 1165 A.D.). That would make him barely 17, at the time of the Cāhamāna war, when we can hardly expect him to have a son capable of leading the army. That Brahmajit is not represented as a minor is evident from the further statement that on his death 50 of his wives became *satī* (*P.R.*, p. 539, v. 68).

1. According to *Taj-ul-Masir*, Kālañjara fell on Monday, the 20th of Rajab, 599 H. (Variant, 597 H., vide, *E.H.I.*, p. 408, n. 2). Fakhruddin Mubarakshah and Firishta also put the event in 599 H. Hodivala points out that 20th of Rajab 599 H., corresponding to April 4, 1203, fell not on Monday but on Friday. If the year and week day are correct, Kālañjara must have fallen on 8th of Rajab (March 24, 1203 A.D.). However, 20th of Rajab 598 (April 15, 1202) was a Monday (*S.I. M.H.*, p. 183). While Smith and Aziz Ahmad favour 1203 A.D. for the event, Wolsey Haig favours 1202 A.D. See also Dani, *I.H.Q.*, XXX, p. 145.
2. *E.I.*, I, pp. 213-14, vs. 22-30.

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have fought on 'the excellent mountain Kālañjara'[1] quite possibly in the war against Kutub-ud-din Aibak. Other records mention an officer Mahīpāla,[2] *amātya* Vatsarāja,[3] and the Brāhmaṇa *senāpatis* Madanapāla[4] and Ajayapāla, son of *Senāpati* Kīlhaṇa,[5] while tradition refers to the two most renowned heroes of his court, the Banāphara brothers, Ālhā and Ūdala.[6] Muslim sources mention the *diwan* or *mahtea* Aj Deo (Ajaya Deva) who was opposed to Paramardin's offer of submission to Kutub-ud-din, and offered gallant resistance after the death of his master.[7]

Paramardideva should also be remembered for his munificence and promotion of learning. To his reign belong the largest number of the copper-plate charters issued by the Candella kings, and they furnish the best proof of his liberality.[8] Himself learned, he also maintained learned scholars at his court. The *Rūpakaṣaṭakam* describes him as *niḥsīmavidyā-nidhiḥ*.[9] One of the inscriptions tells us that he brought about the union of both Śrī and Sarasvatī in his own person,[10] while another makes him the author of a remarkable eulogy to Śiva, inscribed on a

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 336, vs. 10-11.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, pp. 23, 118.
   He may be identical with poet Vatsarāja, whose grandson Ratnapāla had composed the Ajayagadh *praśasti* of Queen Kalyāṇadevī, *E.I.*, I, pp. 328, 330, v. 21.
4. *I.A.*, XXV, p. 207, l. 19 (text).
5. *E I.*, IV, p. 158, l. 19 (text).
6. Their names are associated with many localities in Bundelkhand and even beyond, *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 145. However, these traditions are not always authentic, Cf. *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 8-9.
   Ālhā may be identical with 'Mahārājaputra Śrī Ālhaṇadeva', mentioned in a Madanpur record (V.S. 1235), *Ibid.*, p. 174.
7. Commenting on the resistance offered by Aj Deo, Dr. Majumdar observes : 'though unsuccessful (it) was not in vain. He inspired a new kind of patriotic fervour which bore fruit', *A.I.*, p. 332.
   Hodivala proposes to identify Aj Deo with Vatsarāja (*S.I. M.H.*, p. 183), but he may be identical with *Senāpati* Ajayapāla, mentioned above.
8. Cf. Mahoba inscription, vs. 1-10, *Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, pp. 437-8; also, the Kālañjara stone inscription (*J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, pp. 315, 316) and *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, pp. 75 & 150.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 119, v. 4.
10. *E.I.*, I, p. 212, v. 11.

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stone at Kālañjara.[1] Among the scholars whom he patronized, the most notable was Vatsarāja, the author of the six dramas, collectively known as *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*. Vatsarāja appears to have outlived Paramardideva, for one of his dramas was staged under the orders of latter's successor, Trailokyavarman.[2] Some of the rest were staged on the occasions of the *yātrāmahotsavas* of Nīlakaṇṭha and Cakrasvāmin at Kālañjara.[3] Another notable scholar at the court of Paramardideva was the *sandhivigrahika* Gadādhara, who has been styled '*Kavicakravartī*' and the first among the learned.[4] Jaganika, the reputed author of *Ālha-khaṇḍa*, was also living at the court of this ruler.

Another eminent scholar of his time was Guṇabhadra Munipa Saiddhāntī, the author of *Dhanyakumāra-caritra*, an epic poem of the Jaina *Caritra* class. It was written by the Saiddhāntī during his stay at the *Jinālaya* in Vilāsapura during the reign of Paramardin.[5] The author describes himself as the disciple of Nemisena and grand-disciple of Muni Māṇikyasena.

The inscriptions also afford examples of his broad-minded toleration. Himself a Śaiva, one of his ministers was a devotee of Viṣṇu.[6] A copper-plate shows how he respected the rights of a Buddhist shrine in a village, when he granted it to a Brāhmaṇa,[7] while a large number of Tīrthaṅkara images set up during his reign at various places unmistakably indicates that the Jainas enjoyed full freedom of practising their religion.

1. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, p. 315.
   Vatsarāja might have been the real author of this *praśasti*, for its v. 4 forms the opening verse of his *Karpūracarita Bhāṇa*.
2. *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, p. 1.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 23, 37, 118.
4. *E.I.*, I, p. 214, v. 30.
5. शास्त्रमिदं कृतं राज्ये राज्ञो श्री परमार्दिनः ।
   पुरे विलासपूर्वे च जिनालयैर्विराजिते ॥

   Jaina Grantha-praśasti Saṅgraha, Delhi, 1954, Introduction, p. 55 and Colophon No. 82, pp. 116-17.
   I owe this reference to my friend Dr. J.P. Jain.
6. *E.I*, I, p. 213, v. 25.
7. *Ibid.*, XX, p. 130, l. 14 (text).

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Notwithstanding all these excellent qualities in him, Parāmardideva appears to have been ease-loving, luxurious and licentious. The inscriptions, which eulogise his ancestors for their valour and victories in war, eulogise him for his revelleries and victories in the sport of love.[1] While one of his predecessors is said to have initiated the wives of his enemies into widowhood (*vaidhavya-dāna-dīkṣā-guru*), Paramardideva is described as the guide in the mysteries of love (*śṛṅgāra...vratācārya*).[2] Tradition, on the other hand, represents him as cowardly.[3] The unfortunate reverses that the Candellas suffered during his reign might have been partially due to these weaknesses in the character of their king, for, as we shall see in the succeeding chapter, his valiant successor recovered much of the lost ground.

In spite of the reverses sustained by him, Paramardideva (Paramāla) has left a lasting impression in Bundelkhand, and, as pointed out by Smith, loose popular tradition attributes to him in a vague way many of the antiquities of the country. However, there are very few tanks or temples that are definitely connected with his name. These include the Paramāla tank at Ajayagadh, his palace on the top of the fort-hill at Mahoba, later converted into a mosque, and a gate at Kālañjara.[4]

The death of Paramardin marks the close of the most glorious period in the history of the Candellas. The find-spots of his inscriptions and the place-names mentioned therein indicate that in spite of the defeat inflicted by Pṛthvīrāja, Paramardin had succeeded in retaining his hold over the territories inherited from his predecessor. The Candellas weathered the Cāhamāna storm, but could not withstand the sweeping tide of the Muslim invasion, which not only cost the life of their king but also crippled their resources.

A Kālañjara inscription styles him *Daśārṇādhinātha*,[5] but other records give him the titles usually borne by the Candella

1. Cf. *Ibid.*, I, p. 213, v. 23; *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pt. I, p. 316, ll. 27-28.
2. *Ibid.*, p 315.
3. Cf. *Pr.R.*, pp. 2558, 2561; also, *Sāraṅgadharapaddhati* and *P.C.M.*, *Supra*, p. 145, n. 3.
4. *I.A.*, XXXVII, pp. 134-36.
5. *Supra*, p. 146.

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kings, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara,* and *Kālañjarādhipati.*[1]

Paramardi was the last of the great Candella rulers. Though his reign was marred by serious reverses yet he retains his popularity down to the present day in the popular songs and ballads of Bundelkhand.

1. Cf. *E.I.*, IV, p. 157, ll. 3-4 (text); XVI, p. 12, ll. 5-6 (text), etc. The *P.C.M.* (p. 116) also contains a curious legend about Paramardideva, viz., that he used to kill one cook everyday at the time of serving, in consequence of which he was styled *kopakālānala.*

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CHAPTER X

ECLIPSE OF POWER

SUCCESSORS OF PARAMARDIDEVA

Smith asserted that 'the history of the Chandel dynasty as one of the powers of Northern India ends in 1203 A.D. with the death of Parmāl and the capture of Kālañjar and Mahoba by the Muhammadan invaders'.[1] This is obviously an underestimation of the position of his successors. They not only recovered Kālañjara but also compensated for the loss of the western part of their kingdom, including Mahoba,[2] by making fresh conquests in the region later known as Baghelkhand. Of all the North Indian powers vanquished by Muhammad Ghori and his lieutenants, the Candellas alone weathered the storm and recovered sufficiently to maintain their sway over an extensive area, including parts of Bundelkhand, Baghelkhand and northern districts of Madhya Pradesh.

Tradition and epigraphic evidence are at variance with regard to the name of Paramardideva's successor. According to *Paramāla Rāso*, Brahmajit, his eldest son, fell fighting against Pṛthvīrāja III.[3] Another son of his, Samarajit, is represented as having driven out Pajjūna Rāya, the *thānāpati*

1. *I.A.*, XXXVII. p. 146.
   Cf. also, *C.H.I.*, III, p. 514, where Sir W. Haig states that 'after the death of Paramardi, the Candels as an important dynasty disappeared and the tribes dispersed'.
2. Dr. Habibulla writes in his *The Foundation of Moslem Rule in India* (p. 150), on the authority of Minhaj-us-Siraj, that Malik Kikluk, the governor of Budaun, had also been preparing in A.H. 645 (A.D. 1247) to lead his forces into Kālañjara and Mahoba when he died of poison. Does it indicate that the Muslims had also lost Mahoba sometimes after its conquest ?
3. *P.R.*, pp. 505-512 (Brahmajit Kumāra vadha khaṇḍa).

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of the Cāhamāna king from Mahoba, with the help of Narasiṁha an officer of Jayacandra of Kanauj. He is further stated to have held Mahoba until his death at the hands of Binae-ud-din,[1] who has been usually identified with Baha-ud-din, an officer of Muhammad Ghori, operating in Central India.[2] However Samarajit is unknown to Muslim historians, nor does his name occur in epigraphic records of the Candellas themselves.[3]

TRAILOKYAVARMAN (c. 1203-1245 A.D.)

Epigraphic evidence seems to suggest that Trailokyavarman was the immediate successor of Paramardideva. In the Garra and Tehri plates he has been described as 'meditating on the feet (*pādānudhyāta*) of Paramardideva'.[4] This phrase, in the Candella records, does not necessarily imply that a ruler was the son or even the immediate successor of the king mentioned before him. For instance, Paramardideva is always described as the *pādānudhyāta* of his grandfather and immediate predecessor Madanavarman,[5] while in the Augasi plate Pṛthvīvarman has been described as the *pādānudhyāta* of his father Kīrtivarman,[6] though two other kings had reigned in between them. However, as the Garra plates of Trailokyavarman, dated in V.S. 1261 (A.D. 1205) are only two years remote from the date of Paramardideva's death in A.D. 1203, it is likely that he directly succeeded the latter. The Ajayagadh rock inscription of Kalyāṇadevī also states that 'Trailokyavarman ruled the kingdom' after Paramardideva.[7] Very probably he was a son of the latter, though the relationship between the two is not expressly mentioned in any of the available records.

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 541 ff.
2. *T.F.* (*B.*), I, p. 195; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 145, n. 50.
3. Smith, who does not rule out the possibility of Samarajit's existence, suggests that he may have been a younger brother of Trailokyavarman 'and may have held Mahoba as best he could until 1203 A.D. when both he and his father were overwhelmed by the Mohammadan invader', *Ibid.*, p. 135; also *J.A.S.B.*, L, Pt. I (1881), pp. 29-30.
4. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 275-76; XXXI, p. 72.
5. Cf. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 12.
6. *I.A.*, XVI, p. 208, ll. 3-4 (text).
7. *E I.*, I, pp. 327, 329, v. 7.

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So far we have recovered seven inscriptions of the reign of Trailokyavarman, which are dated between A.D. 1205 and 1241. His achievements also find a prominent mention in the epigraphic records of his successors, and in *Kirātārjunīya-vyāyoga*, a drama attributed to Vatsarāja.

The findspots of his inscriptions as well as the geographical data contained in them unmistakably indicate that Trailokyavarman was in effective control of a fairly large part of his ancestral dominions. The two copper plates of V.S. 1261 were found near the village of Garra to the south east of Chhatarpur. These charters were issued from the king's camp in the village of Vaḍavāḍa, which has been identified with Bedwada in Lalitpur district, U.P. The gift villages Kādohā and Lohasihāṇī are held to be identical, respectively, with Kadoa in Chhatarpur, just south of Garra, and Lohani in Bijawar district. Kādohā was situated in Pāṇiuli *viṣaya*, which 'might possibly be identified with Panna' and Lohasihāṇī, in Vikrauṇi *viṣaya*, which has been identified with Bikaur, in Sagar district, Madhya-pradesh.[1] The inclusion of Ajayagadh within his dominion is proved by the inscriptions found at that place. A later record also informs us that Trailokyavarman had appointed one Vāśe as *viśiṣa* of the fort named Jaya (Ajayagadh) and his brother Ānanda as governor of the same fort. The same record also tells us that Trailokyavarman had rewarded Vāśe with the gift of 'the well-known village of Varbhavarī'.[2] Kielhorn, who edited the inscription, failed to locate the village. It may be identified with one of the villages named Bhambhawari or Bambhawari which lie within a few miles of Ajayagadh—one in Chandewa tahsil of the former Charkhari State, another in Chhatarpur and a third near Amanganj in Panna. The Tehri plate also proves the inclusion of Lalitpur region in his kingdom. The charter issued from the king's camp at Ṭihari (modern Tihari-Banpur in Jhansi district) describes the gift village as '*Sihaḍauni-sainye Vaḍavārī-viṣayānṭaḥpati Maṁḍāura-grāma*'.[3] These places are, respectively,

1. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 274.
2. *Ibid.*, *I*, pp. 334, 337, vs. 16-17, 21-22.
3. *Ibid.*, XXXI, p. 72.

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identified with Siron-Khurd, Bedwada and Madaora—all in Lalitpur district.[1]

In connection with the extent of his kingdom we have also to determine whether Trailokyavarman recovered Kālañjara, which had been lost by his predecessor. In the Garra and Tehri plates he has been styled '*Śrī-Kālañjarādhipati*'.[2] This title is also given to him in the drama *Kirātārjunīya*.[3] According to Dr. Ray the assumption of this title 'was not an idle boast like that of the Kalacuris of Kalyāṇī'.[4] In support of this contention he has cited the evidence of *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, according to which, Kālañjara had ceased to be a part of the Delhi Sultanate by A.D. 1233, when it had a 'Rae' of its own, whom we may justifiably identify with Trailokyavarman (c. 1203-1245 A.D.). Moreover, a badly edited inscription at Kālañjara itself refers to Vīravarman, 'and possibly also to his father' Trailokyavarman.[5]

The data set forth above suffices to show that Trailokyavarman ruled over an extensive area, including the former states of Chhatarpur, Panna, Ajayagadh and Bijawar in Bundelkhand, parts of Sagar district of Madhya Pradesh, Lalitpur district and Kālañjara in Banda district, U.P. His coins also have been found in the latter district.[6] Besides, he made new acquisitions of territory in Baghelkhand.

Undoubtedly, the most important achievement of Trailokyavarman was the reconquest of Kālañjara, which had been captured by Kutub-ud-din Aibak in A.D. 1203, and placed in charge of a Muslim governor. If we can attach any credence to the title given to Trailokyavarman in the Garra and Tehri plates, he must have regained the famous stronghold just in the beginning of his reign, before A.D. 1205. The struggle must have been fierce and hotly contested. Unfortunately there is no mention of it in the available records, and we have no means of ascertaining the exact date when the fort was

1. *Ibid.*
2. *Ibid.*, XVI, pp. 275, 276; XXXI, p. 72.
3. *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, p. 1.
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 726.
5. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, Pt. I, pp. 317-320.
6. Vide, *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 148.

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recovered by the Candellas. The Muslim historians, who gtoat over the victory of the faithful against the infidel defenders of Kālañjara in A.D. 1203, maintain a sinister silence over its subsequent loss. The Garra plates have referred to a war of Trailokyavarman against the Musalmans (Turuṣkas) which must have been fought sometimes before the issue of the charters in A.D. 1205. The battle was fought at Kakaḍādaha,[1] and a notable casualty was Rauta Pāpe, whose services were posthumously rewarded by the grant of two villages to his son.[2] It is just possible, as suggested by Dr. Ray, that Trailokyavarman recovered Kālañjara as a result of his victory in this war.[3]

The victory meant no respite from further aggression. The Musalmans could not easily reconcile themselves to the loss of the famous fort, but only one episode is known to us in that long drawn out struggle. Minhaj-us-Siraj tells us that Malik Nusrat-ud-din Tayasi, who was entrusted with the charge of 'Bhianah and Sultankot....together with the superintendency of Gwaliyur' by Sultan Iltutmish, 'led an army from Gwaliyur towards the Kalinjar country' in A.H. 631 (A.D. 1233). The 'Rae of Kalinjar' who 'fled discomfitted before him' was hotly pursued. The rearmost column of his army was destroyed and the canopy of state and the standards of the Rae were captured. 'The townships of that territory' were made to disgorge their wealth, and the Malik 'obtained vast booty in such wise that in the space of fifty days, the Sultan's fifth share was set down at twentyfive lakhs'. On the return journey of Tayasi, Cahar, the Rana of Ajar (obviously a partisan of Trailokyavarman), fell upon him 'like a wolf upon a flock of sheep'. A fierce battle ensued, but victory rested once again with the invader, and he 'returned with the booty to the fortress of

1. Kakaḍādaha has been identified with 'Kakaḍwā, a little to the south-east of Beḍvāḍa', near Lalitpur, *E.I.*, XVI, p. 274.
2. *Supra*, p. 163.
3. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 725.
   It has been suggested that the *Turuṣka Yuddha* referred to in the Garra plates is connected with Aibak's investment of Kālañjara (*J.O.I.H.*, XV, p. 175), but more likely it is connected with Trailokyavarman's reconquest of the famous fort.

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Gwaliyur in safety'.[1] We have no means of verifying the statement of Minhaj-us-Siraj. Apparently, the expedition was a plundering raid on a large scale. Kālañjara remained unconquered. As the date of the expedition falls within known dates of Trailokyavarman's reign, he must have been the 'Rae of Kalinjar' encountered by Tayasi.[2]

The Ajayagadh rock inscription of his daughter-in-law also contains an interesting allusion to Trailokyavarman's recovery of his ancestral dominions, when it compares him to Viṣṇu 'in lifting up the earth, immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas'. This epigraph also describes him as 'a very creator in providing strong places'.[3] This statement possibly furnishes a clue to the system of warfare followed by the Candella ruler.

The reconquest of Kālañjara not only restored the prestige of the Candellas, but also their self-confidence, which enabled Trailokyavarman to launch aggressive campaigns against his Kalacuri neighbour.

There is ample epigraphic evidence which throws light on the struggle between the Candellas and the Kalacuris during his reign.[4] The inclusion of Rewa region in Kalacuri dominions during the reigns of Jayasiṁha and his son Vijayasiṁha is conclusively proved by the following inscriptions:— (1) The

1. *T.N.* (*R.*), II, pp. 732-34.
   Minhaj-us-Siraj's account is obviously exaggerated. The Candellas continued to hold Kālañjara even after this invasion. Dr. Habibulla rightly observes that 'Tayasi...considered it a great military feat to have been able to get away'—*The Foundation of Moslem Rule in India*, p. 103.
   Rana Cahar is identical with Cāhaḍadeva, the Yajvapāla ruler of Narwar, whose coins bear dates between 1237 and 1254 A.D.
2. Dr. S.L. Katare states, on the authority of *T.N.*(*R.*), pp. 733-35, that 'the king of Kālañjara was killed by the Turks when captured after a hot pursuit' (*E.I.*, XXXI, p. 72). However, there is no such statement in the *Tabqat*.
3. *E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 7 :

   त्रैलोक्यवर्म्मक्षितिपोऽथ राज्यं शशास दुर्गप्रविधानवेधाः ।
   तुरुष्ककुल्यांबुधिमग्नधात्री समुद्धति विष्णुरिव प्रतन्वन् ।।

4. Trailokyavarman's Kalacuri adversary may have been Vijayasiṁha (1188-1210 A.D.).

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Rewa copper-plates of Kīrtivarman (K.S. 926),[1] and (2) Sallakṣaṇavarman (V.S. 1253),[2] which represent Kīrtivarman and his brother Sallakṣaṇavarman, the Mahārāṇakas of Kakareḍikā, as acknowledging the overlordship of Jayasiṁha and Vijayasiṁha, respectively, in A.D. 1174-75 and 1196, (3) the Rewa stone inscription of Malayasiṁha (K.S. 944), which mentions the excavation of a tank by *Sāmanta* Malayasiṁha during the reign of Vijayasiṁha in A.D. 1192-93,[3] and (4) a fragmentary stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha dated in K.S. 962.[4] It was issued from Tripurī but its provenance is unknown. However, as it was deposited in the Rewa treasury, Dr. Chakravarti believed that it could not have 'come from a place far from the Rewa town'.[5]

These records indicate that the Kalacuris continued to hold Rewa and the contiguous territory till K.S. 962 (A.D. 1210). But the Rewa copper-plate of the reign of Trailokyamalla (K.S. 963=A.D. 1211) reveals that only a year later the region had passed under the control of the Candellas.[6] This record was found at Dhureti, 7 miles distant from Rewa town. Dr. Chakravarti has established the identity of king Trailokyamalla of this inscription with the Candella ruler Trailokyavarman.[7] His possession of this region is further confirmed by the Rewa copper-plates of Kumārapāla (V.S. 1297=A.D. 1240) and Harirāja (V.S. 1298=A.D. 1241).[8] These two records of the *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakareḍikā indicate that they were vassals of king Trailokyavarmadeva, who has been identified by Cunningham and Kielhorn with the homonymous ruler of the Candella dynasty.[9] They must have transferred their allegiance to the Candellas after the conquests of Trailokyavarman for,

1. *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 65, pp. 340-44.
2. *Ibid.*, No. 68, pp. 358-63.
3. *Ibid.*, No. 67, pp. 346-58.
4. *Ibid.*, No. 70, pp. 365-67; also *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, pp. 89-90.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 1-6; also *C.I.I.*, IV. No. 72, pp. 369-74.
7. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 3.
   Dr. Mirashi also accepts this identification, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 370. For a contrary view see *H.O.C.*, p. 105 and Appendix II.
8. *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 231 ff, and 235 ff.
9. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 147; *I A.*, XVII, p. 231. Cf. also Dr. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 370.

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as Nos. 1 and 2 above show, their predecessors had been feudatories of the Kalacuris.

In this struggle we have also to take note of the part played by one Malayasiṁha. We meet him for the first time in the Rewa inscription of K.S. 944, which refers to the construction of a tank by *Sāmanta* Malayasiṁha during the reign of the Kalacuri king Vijayasiṁha.[1] Next, in the Rewa inscription of the same king, dated K.S. 962, we find one *Mahāmāṇḍalika* Malayasiṁha mentioned amongst his officers.[2] According to Dr. Chakravarti 'there is nothing against our taking Malayasiṁha mentioned in these two records as identical. It is quite likely that Malayasiṁha, whose ancestors were connected with the Kalacuri rulers as officers for several generations, was himself appointed an officer by Vijayasiṁha sometimes between K. 944 and K. 962'.[3] The Rewa (Dhureti) copper-plate of Trailokyamalla (Trailokyavarman) of K.S. 963 also mentions one Malayasiṁha, bearing the titles of *Mahāmahattaka* and *Māṇḍalika*. He is also said to have been the *mantri* or minister of Trailokyavarman.[4] 'As this inscription is later than the inscription of K. 962 by one year only, there is little doubt that Malayasiṁha mentioned in all the three inscriptions is one and the same person'.[5] If the proposed identification is correct, then it would appear that an important official or feudatory of the Kalacuris not only transferred his allegiance to the conquerer, but also accepted the office of a minister under him. According to Dr. Chakravarti 'it may be that he helped the latter in his cause in some way or other, or it may be that on account of his experience in local administration, his services were utilised in the newly conquered territory on his accepting the Candella supremacy'.[6]

The substitution of the Kalacuri sovereignty by that of the Candellas in the region of Rewa is also evident from what we know of the history of the Śaiva *ācāryas* mentioned in the Rewa copper-plate of K.S. 963. It mentions *Rājaguru Ācārya*

1. *Supra*, p. 160.
2. *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 70.
3. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 4.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 5, ll. 7-8 (text); also *C.I.I*, IV, No. 72.
5. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 4.
6. *Ibid.* Cf. also *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 370-71.

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Vimalaśiva, whose two sons Śāntaśiva and Nādaśiva had mortgaged a village with *Rāṇaka* Dhareka during the reign of Trailokyavarman.[1] This Vimalaśiva has been identified with *Rājaguru* Vimalaśiva,[2] mentioned in the Jubbulpore Kotwali plates[3] (K.S. 918) of Kalacuri king Jayasiṁhadeva, who held him in great esteem. The *ācārya* and his royal devotee are also mentioned in another Jubbulpore inscription of K.S. 926.[4]

Besides the Musalmans and the Kalacuris, Trailokyavarman had other enemies also to fight with. An Ajayagadh inscription tells us that Ānanda the governor of that fort 'reduced to submission the wild tribes of Bhillas, Śabaras and Pulindas'.[5] The same epigraph also refers to another enemy of his, who is given the unusual name of Bhojuka. It states that Vāśe or Vāśeka, an elder brother of Ānanda and the *viśiṣa* of Jayadurgga (Ajayagadh), 'sent the irresistible Bhojuka, who seized with the frenzy of war, was rending the kingdom in two, in battle to the abode of death, and thus made Trailokyavarman again the ornament of princely families'. Vāśe is also said to have pacified the kingdom and rendered it secure against the enemies. 'He rendered the kingdom free from thorns and

1. *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 5-6.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 4; also *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *E.I.*, XXI, pp. 93 ff; *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 63.
   For a similar example, we may refer to an inscription of Govindacandra Gāhaḍavāla which records that "in V.S. 1177 (A.D. 1120), in the presence of this ruler village of...which was originally given to the Rājaguru Śaivācārya Bhaṭṭāraka Rudraśiva by (the Kalacuri ruler) Yaśaḥkarṇa was transferred to Ṭhakkura Vaśiṣṭhaśarman". Dr. F.W. Hall, who edited the inscription, suggested that the village lay in the country conquered by Govindacandra from the Kalacuris (*J.A.S.B.*, XXXI (1862), pp. 123 ff).
4. *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 64, pp. 331-39.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 334, 337, v. 22.
   Several such tribes lived in Candella kingdom. They are believed to have owed 'a certain allegiance to the Rājā but yet lived for the most part free of control, and indulged...in their hereditary propensities for fighting and plunder' (*J.A.S.B.*, XLVI, Part I (1877), p. 229). The disturbed conditions prevailing at the time might have prompted them to resurrection.

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prosperous,....and properly secured all frontiers....'[1] We have no clue to the identity of Bhojuka. Kielhorn suggested that he had either risen in rebellion against Trailokyavarman or had conquered a part of his territory.[2]

The epigraphic records have also preserved the names of some of the officials, both civil and military, who served under this ruler. The two Garra plates of V.S. 1261 refer to one Rāuta Pāpe, who fell fighting at Kakaḍādaha in a war against the Musalmans (*Turuṣka yuddha*). He belonged to Bharadvāja *gotra*, and was the son of Rāuta Sahṇapāla, and grandson of Rāuta Raṇapāla. His services were posthumously rewarded by the grant of two villages to his son Rāuta Sāmanta.[3] The two Rewa plates of V.S. 1297 and 1298, respectively, mention his feudatories Kumārapāla and Harirāja, the *Mahārāṇakas* of Kakareḍikā.[4] Another Rewa plate of K.S. 963 mentions one *Mahāmahattaka* and *Māṇḍalika* Malayasiṁha, who held the post of *mantrin*. We have already discussed the important part played by him in securing the subjugation of Rewa region for Trailokyavarman.[5] This record also refers to Ṭhakkura Haripāla, the minister for peace and war *(sandhivigrahika)*, to the city-prefect (*koṭṭapāla*) Vāhaḍa, and to

1. *E.I.*, I, pp. 334, 337, vs. 19-20 :
   तत्रायं परिपन्थिपार्थिवचमूकक्षेषु दावानलो
   द्वैराज्यं जनयन्तमप्रतिहतं कृत्वा कृतान्तातिथिम् ।
   भोजूकं युधि युद्धदुर्मदनिधिं वाशेकनामा सुधी-
   र्भूयो येन महीशवंशतिलकस्त्रैलोक्यवर्म्माकृतः ॥
   स्फीतं राज्यमकंटकं गुणिगणक्रान्तातिसर्व्वास्पदं
   दानेनोज्जवलवद्विधाय विधिवत्सीमाः समस्ता अपि ।
   तेनालम्भि महीधरे जयपुरे कैलासवासोपमे
   वासो वासववासदर्प्पदलनो रम्यप्रतीलोकते ॥

2. *Ibid.*, p. 332.
   Kielhorn proposed the identification of Bhojuka with *aśvavaidya* Ṭhakkura Bhojuka, father of Abhayadeva, mentioned in an Ajayagadh inscription of V.S. 1325 (*A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 51). However, the name mentioned in that record is not Bhojuka but Bhojaka.
3. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 275-77.
4. *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 224 ff.
5. *Supra*, p .161.

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śreṣṭhin Śrīcanda, the writer of documents (*arthalekhin*).[1] The last three among others appear to have been members of the *pañcakula* and *dharmādhikaraṇa*.[2]

An Ajayagadh inscription introduces us to Vāśe or Vāśeka, the *viśiṣa* of Jayadurgga and his younger brother Ānanda, the governor of the same fort. They belonged to a Vāstavya Kāyastha family, that had been connected with the Candella rulers for several generations.[3] According to Dr. Ray, Trailokyavarman probably owed to these two brothers much of his success against internal and external foes.[4] The services rendered by them have already been referred to. Vāśe was rewarded with the grant of a village. He is also said to have built 'a beautiful temple and a charming tank full of good water', evidently at Ajayagadh itself.[5] Another inscription from the same place mentions another family of officers that had hereditarily served the Candellas. One of them, Gaṁgādhara, was 'a favourite of Trailokyavarman'.[6]

The titles given to this ruler in different records also deserve notice. The Garra and Tehri plates give him the usual Candella titles, viz., '*paramabhaṭṭāraka mahārājādhirāja-parmeśvara - paramamāheśvara-śrī - Kālañjarādhipati*'.[7] The Rewa plate of Kumārapāla describes him as, '*paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramamāheśvara-śrīmad - Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta - paramabhaṭṭāraka-māhārājādhirāja-parameśvara-paramamāheśvara - Trikaliṅgādhipati - nijabhuj - opārjit-*

1. *C.I.I.*, IV, pp. 371, 373, ll. 8-9 (text).
   According to Dr. Mirashi, Haripāla may be identical with *Mahāmantrī* Harīpāla mentioned in the Rewa Stone inscription of Vijayasiṁha (*Ibid.*, pp. 365, n. 7 & 370, n. 6), and Vāhaḍa with Vāhaḍavarman, a son of the feudatory chief of Kakareḍī mentioned in *I.A.*, XVII, p. 236.
2. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 2.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 334, 337, vs. 16-22.
4. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 729.
5. *E.I.*, I, pp. 334, 337, v. 18.
6. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
   Vatsarāja, the author of *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, who had served Paramardideva as his *amātya*, continued to serve in the same capacity under Trailokyavarman.
7. *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 275, 276; XXXI, p. 72.

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aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatry-ādhipati...'[1] These are the well-known titles of the Kalacuris of Tripurī, from whom Trailokyavarman had recently conquered the Rewa area. This record is not an official Candella charter, and it is just possible that the writer of the document had transferred the epithets of the Kalacuri kings, with which he was familiar, to their conqueror. More interesting, however, are the titles given to this ruler in the Dhureti (Rewah) copper-plate of K.S. 963 viz., '*paramabhaṭṭārak-ety-ādi-samasta-rājāvalī-virājamāna-paramam-āheśvar-aśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatray-ādhipati-vividha vid-yā-vicāra-vācaspati-Śri-Vāmadeva-pādānudhyāta-kānyakubjādhi-pati....*'[2] Commenting on the epithet '*Kānyakubjādhipati*' Dr. Chakravarti says, 'though this...title is not found in any other Candella record, it is not unlikely that with the decline of Gāhaḍavāla power, Trailokyamalla (Trailokyavarman) assumed this title, as he did also the title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* borne by the Kalacuris of Dāhala'.[3]

Trailokyavarman had a fairly long reign of at least 37 years —his known dates ranging between V.S. 1261 and 1298 (A.D. 1205-1241). The available records show that he was far from being a mere 'local chieftain'. The repeated invasions of

1. *I.A.*, XVII, p. 232, ll. 4-6.
   The other Rewa grant of V.S. 1298 gives the titles as *Para-mabhaṭṭārak-ety-ādi-rājāvalītray-opeta-mahārāja...*, *Ibid.*, pp. 235-6, ll. 4-5.
2. *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 371, ll. 5-6 (text); *E.I.*, XXV, p. 5, ll. 5-6 (text).
   Elsewhere this record gives him the epithet "*Tri-śati(ta)-rājy-ādhipati*" (text, l. 12), which is not met with elsewhere. It is not an official Candella record, but a record of the Śaiva Ācāryas, and was set up within a year of the Candella conquest of the territory adjoining Rewa. Very likely, they were not acquainted with the official titles of the conqueror and prefixed to his name this curious jumble of the Kalacuri and Gāhaḍavāla titles with both of which they were familiar.
   Would it be wrong to suppose that the Ācāryas alienated the village when it had ceased to belong to their royal devotees, the Kalacuri kings, as they had done on a previous occasion, when the Gāhaḍavālas had supplanted the Kalacuris in the area where one of their villages lay ?
3. *E.I.*, XXV, p. 3.
   Cf. also Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, IV, p. 370.

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Muhammad Ghori and his able Lieutenant Kutub-ud-din Aibak had crippled and paralysed almost all the important ruling families of Northern India, including the Cāhamānas, Gāhaḍavālas, Pālas, Senas and Candellas. Whereas the rest faded out of existence, or else their representatives maintained a precarious existence in some isolated localities, the Candellas alone weathered the storm and rallied round considerably to emerge as one of the principal ruling dynasties on this side of the Vindhyas. The credit for it must go, in a large measure, to Trailokyavarman himself, who not only recovered Kālañjara, but also aggrandised himself at the expense of the Kalacuris. Not only did he save the Candellas from the fate that befell the contemporary ruling dynasties of Northern India, but he also gave them a fresh lease of life. Vatsarāja eulogises him most appropriately for his valour in the following verse :[1]

श्यामा सदंगसुभगा करपंकजाग्रदुललिना विहरमाणमनोज्ञकाम्या ।
त्रैलोक्यवर्मनृपतेर्मनसि प्रमोदमाविष्करोति करवाललता न कान्ता ।।

Certain scholars[2] have identified Trailokyavarman with Rana '*Dalaki wa Malaki*', mentioned by Minhaj-us-Siraj and Firishta,[3] who was defeated by Ulugh Khan (Balban) in A H. 645 (A.D. 1247-48). The identification was first proposed by Cunningham, but subsequently he himself gave it up, stating that 'I have since found amongst the early Baghels, two rājās in succession, named Dalakeśwar and Malakeśwar. These two names I take to be the originals of the Muhammadan author's Dalaki-wa-Malaki...' The 'inaccessible place in which the rājā took refuge must have been the famous fort of Bandhogarh'.[4] It is not clear whether the strange compound Dalaki-wa-Malaki represents the name of one or two rājās, and the description of his country, too, does not help us in determining his identity. However, the statement of Minhaj-us-Siraj that 'This was a Rana in the vicinity of the (Jumna) between Kalinjar and Karra, over whom the Rais of Kalinjar and Malwa had no authority.... No Muhammadan army had ever

1. *Rūpakaṣaṭakam*, p. 2.
2. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, pp. 729-30.
3. *T.N.* (*R.*), I, pp. 680-83; *T.F.* (*B.*), I, p. 237; *E. & D*, II, p. 348, and n. 1.
4. *A.S.R.*, II, p. 457; *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 105-06.

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penetrated to his dwelling place... ',[1] would indicate that he was not Trailokyavarman.

When Trailokyavarman ascended the throne the prospects of his family were extremely bleak. It reflects no small credit on him that struggling against heavy odds he succeeded in restoring once again the prestige and fortunes of the Candellas.

VĪRAVARMAN (c. 1245-1285 A.D.)

Vīravarman, the son and successor of Trailokyavarman,[2] continued to follow the aggressive policy of his father. While Trailokyavarman had extended his dominions towards the east, Viravarman sought expansion towards the west, at the expense of petty Hindu rulers.

The Ajayagadh rock inscription of his queen Kalyāṇadevī only vaguely alludes to his victories against unspecified enemies,[3] but the Charkhari record mentions one of them specifically. He was Dabhyuhaḍavarman, against whom a war (*saṁgrāma*) was fought at Sondhī. A distinguished participant in that engagement was Rāuta Ābhi, who was rewarded with the gift (*prasāda*) of a village by the Candella sovereign.[4] There is no clue to the identity of Dabhyuhaḍavarman. Hiralal thinks that it was an internecine warfare between 'members of the same lineage...if the termination of opponents'...name would

1. *E & D.*, II, pp. 366-7. According to Firishta, however, they resided at Kalinjar, *T.F.* (*B.*), II, p. 237.
   Smith, who proposed to identify Dalaki-wa-Malaki with the Bhar chieftains Tiloki and Biloki (supposed to have been ruling in Etah, Kanpur, Fatehpur, etc.), believed that their stronghold was the fort of Marpha, *J.A.S.B.*, L. (1881), p. 34; *I.A.*, XXXVII, p. 136.
2. *E.I.*, I, p. 327, v. 8; XX, p. 133, ll. 5-7 (text).
3. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 327, 329, vs. 8-9 :
   रणाजिरे कृतरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाप्तिसमोदितनाककन्यः ।
   तस्यात्मजो वीर महीमहेशो जयत्यसौ निर्म्मलवीरधर्म्मः ॥
   ताक्ष्र्येण वल्गान्विहरन्वृषेण दुष्टप्रहन्ता रिपुराशिभेत्ता ।
   किं विष्णुरीशः किमु वेति दृष्टो जयत्यसौ विश्वजनैर्नमस्य ॥
4. *E.I.*, XX, p. 133, ll. 13-14 (text).
   Sondhī has been identified with Seondha fort (now called Kanhargarh) on the banks of Sindhu river in the former Datia State.

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indicate anything to that effect'.[1] However, the names ending in *varman* were by no means peculiar to the Candellas in that age or in that part of the country. Sondhī is situated on the western extremity of the Candella dominions, and it is quite likely that Dabhyuhaḍavarman was one of the neighbouring chiefs.

The Dahi copper-plate further suggests that Vīravarman came into conflict with Nalapurapati Gopāla, a Madhuvanakādhipa and king Harirāja of Gopagiri.[2] Of these Gopāla is the well-known Yajvapāla (Jajapella) ruler of Nalapura (modern Narwar in Shivapuri district, M.P.).[3] A number of inscriptions belonging to his reign, dated between V.S. 1336 and 1345 (A.D. 1279-1289), have been discovered in Shivapuri district, at Narwar, Baraudi, Balarpur, Pachrai, Barhotar, Sesai and Bangla.[4] Fifteen memorial pillar inscriptions from Bangla refer to a war between him and Vīravarman, the Candella (Caṁdilla) monarch of Jajahuti or Jejābhukti, which was fought on the banks of Valuvā,[5] modern Barua, river on Caitra Sudi 7,

1. *Ibid.*, p. 132.
   Dr. Mitra's assumption that Dabhyuhaḍavarman 'was either a usurper or a rebel' may be correct, but he was certainly not 'of *Candreśvarānvaya*'..., *E.R.K.*, p. 135.
2. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 75.
3. Ellis and Cunningham believed that 'Madhuvanaka' was an epithet of Gopāla. Though Bhandarkar had pointed out (vide, his List No. 600) that Gopāla was the Yajvapāla ruler of Nalapura, some of the later writers continued to follow Cunningham, cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p, 732; *H.O.C.*, p. 111.
4. *E.I.*, XXXI, pp. 323-36.
   Aso, Dwivedi, H.V., *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, Nos. 132, 141, 149, 152, 157, 158 and Bhandarkar's List of North Indian Inscriptions, Nos. 597, 603.
   In these records, Gopāla is given the usual Imperial titles viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka*, *Mahārājādhirāja*, and *Parameśvara*.
5. The river, variously named as Valuvā, Volukā, Valuā, Valūbā, Vāluka and Valuka in the Bangla inscriptions, is a tributary of the Sindhu.
   In a Narwar inscription of Gopāla, the battle is said to have been fought on the bank of the river Sikatā (*Sikatā-nimngā kacchabhumau*), *E.I.*, XXXIII, p. 36.
   There is a vast stretch of rocky waste land extending from the border of Bangla village to the river Barua. The site is studded with a number of *satī* stone pillars, many of which are inscribed—recording the names of the warriors who fell fighting for Gopāla against Vīravarman.

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V.S. 1337[1] (March 28, 1281 A.D.), just a little over one month earlier than the date mentioned in the Dahi copper-plate of Vīravarman, viz. Vaiśākha Sudi 15, V.S. 1337 (May 4, 1281 A.D.).[2] As some of the partisans of Gopāla 'specifically claim (in Bangla records) to have obtained victory in the battle',[3] before they fell fighting, Dr. D.C. Sircar believes that Vīravarman succeeded in penetrating as far as the immediate neighbourhood of Yajvapāla capital, but was repulsed by the defenders. He 'seems to have been defeated in his contest with the Yajvapālas after having gained some initial success'.[4] The Dahi copper-plate, on the other hand, asserts that the Candella general Mallaya 'conquered the lord of Nalapura (*samarayugāparājīta Nalapurapati*)'.[5] Whatever the course of events might have been, Yajvapālas did not lose their independence as

1. The date of the battle as mentioned in six of the Bangla records (Nos. 2, 4-6, 9 & 12) is Friday, Caitra Sudi 7, V.S. 1338, but in Nos. 1, 7, 8, 10 & 15 the year is given as V.S. 1337. Dr. D.C. Sircar explains away the discrepancy by stating that 'if the year is regarded as *Kārttikādi*, V.S. 1338 current was the same as V.S. 1337 expired'. Most of these records mention the day as Friday, but according to No. 3 it was a Saturday. Dr. Sircar believes that 'the confusion about the week-day is apparently due to an error of the scribe'. It is also possible that the seventh *tithi* which commenced on Friday continued on the succeeding day. In that case, the battle must have lasted for two days, and not only for a day as suggested by Dr. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 327.
2. Bhandarkar's *List*, No. 600 and Kielhorn's List, *E.I.*, V, Appendix, No. 240.
3. In his Narwar inscription (V.S. 1338), Gopāla claims to have defeated Vīravarman :

   जेजाभुक्ति प्रभुमतिबलं वीरवर्मा (णं)...जित्वा ।

   Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha, Introduction, p. 40; also *E.I.*, XXXIII, p. 36, v. 9.
4. *E.I.*, XXXI, p, 327.
   Vīravarman is said to have been assisted, in this war, by four other rulers, who might have been his allies or feudatories—Bangla inscriptions, Nos. I & II (*Ibid.*, pp. 330, 335). One of them appears to have been Lakṣmaṇa, king of Candragiri (Chanderi ?), *Ib.*, XXXIII, pp. 36-7.
5. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 75.
   Dr. Sircar believes that the Candella *praśastikāra* has given 'a partisan's reading of the results' of the battle, *E.I.*, XXXI, p. 328.

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proved by the coins and inscriptions of Gaṇapati, the son and successor of Gopāla.[1]

Nothing is known about the other rivals of Vīravarman viz., the king of Madhuvana and Harirāja of Gwalior. Madhuvana has been equated with Mathura,[2] but it should be identified with 'the district in which Terahi is situated'.[3] Muslim historians assert that Gwalior region had been occupied by Sultan Nasir-ud-din in about 1252 A.D.[4] The Dahi record, however, suggests that local dynasties continued to maintain a precarious existence in the region.

Vīravarman's records are mostly found at Ajayagadh and, consequently, are of little help in determining the extent of his dominion. Nonetheless, they show that he was in possession of the two strongholds of Kālañjara and Ajayagadh. One of his stone inscriptions has been found at Jhansi and another at Gurha, suggesting his sway over the area lying between the rivers Sindhu and Betwa. His two copper-plates were discovered at Charkhari and Dāhi, near Bijawar. The former was issued from the king's camp at Vilāsapura, and records the grant of Ṭumuṭumā village, in Dāhi *viṣaya*, while the latter records the gift of Dāhi itself. Ṭumuṭumā has not been identified. Vilāsapura must have been a village of considerable importance as several charters are known to have been issued from there. Venis, who edited the Pachar plate of Paramardideva, also

1. *Ibid.*, p. 323-324.
   Also, Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, Nos. 159, 163, 164, 172, 174, 175 & 177, and Bhandarkar's *List*, Nos. 62·, 636 & 642. In his Narwar inscription (V.S. 1355) Gaṇapati claims to have captured Kīrtidurga (*E.I.*, XXXII, p. 345, v. 8). Dr. Sircar, who identifies this fort with Kīrtigiridurga (Deogadh), suggests that he might have seized it from the contemporary Candella ruler (Bhojavarman or Hammīravarman). He also believes that Gaṇapati might have been 'a subordinate ally of the Muslim Sultans of Delhi and helped the latter in their struggle with the Candellas', *Ibid.*, p. 344. Dr. Dwivedi, however, identifies Kīrtidurga with Chanderi, *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, Introduction, p. 41. Kīrtidurga is also mentioned in the Budhera Pillar ins. (V.S. 1351), *Ib.*, p. 27, No. 170.
2. Cf. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 732; *H.O.C.*, p. 111; *E.R.K.*, p. 136; *S.F.E.*, pp. 60, 146.
   Mathura must have been in possession of the Delhi Sultans at this time.
3. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 177. Terahi is in Shivapuri district, M.P. Refer to the map in Dwivedi's *Gwalior Rajya Ke Abhilekha*.
4. *E. & D.*, II, p. 351; *T.F.* (*B.*), I, p. 239.

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issued from Vilāsapura, suggested its identification with Pachar itself, 12 miles to the north-east of Jhansi city.[1] Thus we find from the contents or findspots of these records that Vīravarman was in actual possession of territory in the modern Jhansi and Banda districts of U.P., and the former States of Ajayagadh, Charkhari and Bijawar in Bundelkhand. As the Muhammadan chroniclers 'claim no decisive victories over the chiefs of Bundelkhand about this time, it is likely that he was left in comparatively undisturbed possession' of his territories.[2]

One of the Ajayagadh inscriptions mentions his chief queen, Kalyāṇadevī, and gives a description of the families of both of her parents. She was born in Dadhīci *vaṁśa* and was the daughter of Maheśvara, 'revered even by crowned heads'. The names of her grandfather Śrīpāla, and great-grandfather Cādala are also mentioned. Her mother Vesaladevī was a daughter of king (*Kṣitipāla*) Govindarāja. She was unsurpassed for virtuous conduct (*sucaritrasīmā*), and deserved 'like Śiva's wife... (to be) always honoured by faithful wives' (*prapujyā Śivevā nityaṁ patidevatānām*).[3] The above named princes do not appear to have been mentioned elsewhere, and it is not possible to establish their identity.[4] The royal *praśastikāra* has lavished great encomiums on Kalyāṇadevī herself. 'Unsurpassed for pleasing conduct (and) well-known the earth over for her pure fame', she 'by truthful speech has at once surpassed that world-renowned lord of justice' (Yudhiṣṭhira), Vaśiṣṭha's wife (Arundhatī), 'the splendid daughter of the mountain, who is the half of Śiva's body' (Pārvatī), Gaṅgā and 'the beloved of Kāma' (Rati) were no match to her.[5] The Ajayagadh record of V.S.

1. *E.I.*, X, p. 46.
2. *D.H.N.I.*, II, p. 733.
3. *E I.*, I, pp. 327-28, 329, vs. 10-13.
4. Govindarāja, the father of Vesaladevī, may be identical with a homonymous ruler of Narwar.
5. *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 329-30, vs. 15-16:

किं वर्ण्यते चारुचरित्रसीमा विशुद्धकीर्त्तिप्रथिता जगत्यां ।
या सत्यवाचा भुवनप्रसिद्धं धर्म्मप्रभुं तं सहसा जिगाय ॥
तेषां वंद्यतमा वशिष्ठदयिता स्थाणोः शरीरार्द्धकं
भ्राजिष्णु गिरिजां नमन्ति किल ते गंगापि तै संस्तुता ।
ते कामप्रमदास्तुतिव्यवसिता येषां न दृग्गोचरा
सत्याद्यैः प्रथिता गुणैः शुचितनुः कल्याणदेवी गिरा ॥

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1317 was inscribed to commemorate her benevolent and pious deeds, which included the construction of a *nirjara* well 'filled with nectar-like water' at Ajayagadh, and a tank which resembled the ocean and a hall (*prapā*) with a lofty top at Nāndīpura.[1]

We also learn from these inscriptions the names and achievements of some of the important officials of his regime. An Ajayagadh epigraph refers to his minister Jagaddhara, who belonged to a Gauḍa family that had been connected with the Candellas for several generations.[2] The Charkhari and Dahi copper-plates, respectively, refer to Rāuta Abhi and the Brāhmaṇa Mallāya, both of whom were granted villages in recognition of their distinguished military services. The former belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and to Chandreśvara *anvaya*, and had distinguished himself in the war against Dabhyuhaḍavarman.[3] The latter also belonged to the Kāśyapa *gotra* and had fought successfully against the rulers of Nalapura, Madhuvana and Gopagiri (Gwalior).[4]

The Kālañjara stone inscription refers to Vīravarman's works of public utility and other pious benefactions. He is credited with the construction of various temples (*devālaya*), gardens (*udyāna*), ponds (*taḍāga*) and tanks (*vāpī*), and with the installation of the images of Śiva, Kamalā and Kālī 'in splendid homes'. The statements that 'like thousands of Sumeru (he) bestowed gold in *tulā*', and that he 'delighted the hearts of all the learned', evidently allude to his liberality and patronage of learning. The record also describes him as 'a patron of archers' (*dhanurvid-upāśrāyo*).[5]

Two of the Ajayagadh inscriptions which record the installation of Jain images during his reign unmistakably indicate that he continued to follow in the footsteps of his predecessors in according full religious toleration to the Jain community. The colossal image of Śāntinātha also deserves notice as a fine example of sculpture.[6]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 328, 330, vs. 17-20.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91.
3. *E.I.*, XX, p. 133, ll. 13-14.
4. *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 75.
5. *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pp. 318-20, ll. 22 ff; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 40.
6. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, pp. 91-92; also *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, pt. 2, No. 2.

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Vīravarman had a pretty long reign of about forty years duration, the dates of his inscriptions ranging between V.S. 1311 and 1342 (A.D. 1254-1286). The Charkhari copper-plate gives him the usual titles of the Candella monarchs, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭārakamahārājādhirāja parameśvara paramamāheśvara śrī-kālañjarādhipati.*[1]

BHOJAVARMAN (c. 1285-1288 A.D.)

The next ruler was Bhojavarman. We can fix the date of his accession within narrow limits of error. The preceding sovereign, Vīravarman, is known to have been ruling in V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1285-86),[2] while we learn from an Ajayagadh epigraph that Bhojavarman was already on the throne in V.S. 1345 (A.D. 1288). Therefore, his accession must have taken place sometimes between these two dates, possibly nearer to the first, as his predecessor had already been on the throne for at least 40 years by that time.

Only three inscriptions of his reign have been discovered so far, and all of them come from Ajayagadh. One of them is undated, and the other two are dated, respectively, in V.S. 1345 and 1346. None of them throws any light on the achievements of Bhojavarman or on the history of his reign, but they have preserved very valuable information about certain families that had served the Candellas with great devotion and distinction. Subhaṭa was the scion of one such Vāstavya Kāyastha family that had been associated with the ruling dynasty since the days of king Gaṇḍa. He held the post of the Chief Superintendent of the Treasury (*Kosādhikārādhipati*) under Bhojavarman. He was also the counsellor (*saciva*) of the king, placed 'at the head of all (his) weighty affairs'. The undated Ajayagadh rock inscription lavishes great encomiums on him for his personal accomplishments, character and benevolence, and refers to the construction of a temple by him at that place.[3] The temple must have been dedicated to Śiva as the introductory invocation would suggest.

1. *E.I.*, XX, p. 133, ll. 5-7 (text).
2. *Ibid.*, V, Appendix, No. 242; XX, Appendix, No. 608.
3. *E.I.*, I, pp. 335, 338, vs. 28-31.

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There are two other inscriptions at Ajayagadh of one long line each which mention Subhaṭa and his wife Devaladevī.[1] These are found engraved, respectively, to the left and right of the pedestal of a group of sculptures carved on the rock to the left of the so-called Aṣṭaśakti images, near the Tarhauni gate. The inscription to the left states that Devaladevī, the daughter of Ṭhakkura Devadhara, and wife of Subhaḍadeva, caused to be made the images of Surabhī, Śiva etc. It is dated in V.S. 1345. The other inscription records that Subhaḍadeva[2] caused to be made the images of Kedāra and Pārvatī, Vṛṣabha, Kṛṣṇa, Ambikā, Tārā, Tripurā, Kāmākṣyā, Durgā, Harasiddhi, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā, Kālikā and again of Īśvara and Pārvatī. Their images are carved on the rock, and most of them have separate identificatory labels also. This record is dated in Samvat 1344, Vaiśākha *Vadi...*, the *tithi* and the week-day being not clear.

On the upper round step of a temple on the northern bank of the Paramāla tank at Ajayagadh there is a short inscription, which does not appear to have been noticed before. It reads *'Śrī Vāstavya...Asau suta Subhaḍadeva nityaṁ praṇamati'*. The temple is in ruins and there is no image inside it, but that it was dedicated to Śiva is evident from the fact that on the lintel of the door-way leading to the sanctum there is in the centre a beautiful figure of dancing Śiva in *gajahasta* pose, with those of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, respectively, to its right and left. It is quite possible that this was the temple constructed by Subhaṭa and referred to in the rock inscription. There is still lying a mutilated image of Nandī just in front of it.

There is another incomplete inscription engraved on the rock, a little below the upper gate in Ajayagadh fort, which refers to certain members of the same family. It is unfortunate that it was not completed, otherwise we would have got more information about Subhaṭa.[3]

1. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, pp. 92-93; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 53.
2. Subhaḍadeva of these inscriptions is undoubtedly identical with Subhaṭa of the Tarhauni gate inscription, for both of them have the same ancestry.
3. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 92; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 54.

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At several places in Ajayagadh, near the inscriptions of Subhaṭa, we find, besides the images of the deities sculptured on the rock, the figure of a worshipper, bearded, putting on ornaments and *rudrākṣa mālā*, which is identical in all cases. It can be seen on the fort wall between the fourth and the fifth (upper) gates, near the sculptural representations of Naṭarāja Śiva, four-armed Viṣṇu and several Devī *mūrtis*, just below the incomplete inscription of Subhaṭa's family, and at two places beyond the Tarhauni gate, once in front of the representations of Gaṇeśa and Śiva, and again besides that of a four-armed deity, just over which there is an inscription dated (Vikrama) '*Saṁvat 1346 samaye*'.[1] The identicalness of the worshipper's figure in all cases us to suggest that it is a representation of Subhaṭa himself, who must have been responsible for the carving of these images. Likewise, outside the Tarhauni gate where we find the images of a number of deities carved on the rock-wall along with the inscriptions of his wife Devaladevī, we find the representation of a female worshipper, possibly her own.

Another official of Bhojavarman's reign was the minister (*Saciva*) Nāna whose inscription (V.S. 1345), found at Ajayagadh, is now preserved in the Indian Museum. He was the son of Ratna Siṁha and the grandson of Maleka, scions of a Kāyastha family. The epigraph devotes several verses to the eulogisation of Nāna, but they do not contain any information of historical interest. He also caused a temple to be constructed at Jayapura-durgga, in which was installed an image of Hari.[2]

1. This inscription in six short lines does not appear to have been noticed so far.
   Dr. Chakravarti noticed another record of Subhaṭa, lying near the water-fall in the old part of the town of Panna. The epigraph is engraved 'below a group of images carved on the block of stone. It records that the images were caused to be made by Suhaḍadeva, the son of Aṣau and the grandson of Vāṣe born in the Vāstavya Kāyastha family and belonging to Jayapura in (?) Kālañjara. On the left side is found ..also the name of his wife Devalladevī'. It is dated in '(Vikrama) Saṁvat 1366 Śrāvaṇa Sudi 10 Gurau' i.e. Thursday, 17th July, A D. 1309 (*A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 94). This record does not mention the name of the contemporary ruler, who must have been Hammīravarman.
2. *E.I.*, XXVIII, pp. 98-105.

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Bhojavarman undoubtedly ruled for a very brief period, but there is a little difficulty in determining the date of the termination of his reign. An Ajayagadh epigraph shows him ruling as late as Mārgga vadi 14, V.S. 1346,[1] but the Charkhari plate of Hammīravarman shows that his successor was already on the throne, three months earlier, on Bhādrapada vadi 12 of the same year. It is difficult to believe that there was a partition of the kingdom. Both these princes are known to have been ruling at Ajayagadh, and it would be too much to assume the existence of two independent sovereigns at the same place and at the same time. Dr. Chakravarti has solved the apparent discrepancy by assuming that the two inscriptions are dated differently,[2] but it would be an unusual thing for epigraphs belonging to the same dynasty, found at the same place, and engraved within a few months of each other. Hiralal, on the other hand, from the fact that the Charkhari record omits the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* in the case of Hammīravarman which it ascribes to his predecessors, believes that 'he was never recognised as the *Mahārāja* while his elder brother Bhojavarmadeva was on the throne'.[3] According to his suggestion Hammīravarman was not *de jure* ruler, during the overlapping period and at the time when his Charkhari plates were issued; but the other titles '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*' and '*Sāhi Rājāvalītrayopeta Kālañjarādhipati Mahārāja*' given to him suggest that he was a full fledged ruler. Hiralal himself has made the alternative suggestion that the omission of 'the grandiloquent titles' may have been an indication of his 'reduced position'. Both the records are badly engraved and the possibility of mistake in respect of the date, which is given only in figures in either case, cannot be ruled out.

1. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93; *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 53; *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, pt. II, No. 2.
2. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93.
3. *E.I.*, XX, p. 135.
   Hiralal does not rule out the possibility of an 'usurpation of the throne unless Bhojavarman died in the same year (V.S. 1346) before the month of Bhādrapada'—the date of Hammīravarman's Charkhari plates (*Ibid*).

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No epigraph enables us to determine the relationship of Bhojavarman with other princes of the dynasty. Hiralal believes that he was an elder brother of Hammīravarman, while according to Dr. Chakravarti he was probably a younger brother of Vīravarman, and an uncle of Hammīra. He further presumes that he held sway during the minority of the latter.[1]

HAMMĪRAVARMAN (c. 1288-1311 A.D.)

Hammīravarman is the last ruler of the Candella dynasty about whom any information is available. Epigraphic evidence unmistakably shows that he was the immediate successor of Bhojavarman, but latter's name has been ignored in his Charkhari plate. It gives the following order of succession : 'Śrīmat Paramardideva *pādānudhyāta*.....Śrī Trailokyavarmmadeva *pādānudhyāta*....Śrīmad Vīravarmmadeva *pādānudhyāta*...Śrīmad Hammīravarmmadeva'.[2] The name of Bhojavarman has been omitted, obviously, because he did not fall in the direct line of ancestry. Such omissions are by no means rare in Candella records.

We have three inscriptions of the reign of Hammīravarman, viz., his Charkhari copper-plate (V.S. 1346), Bamhni satī record (V.S. 1365) and Ajayagadh satī stone inscription (V.S. 1368). They indicate that he had a long reign of at least 22 years' duration—his earliest and latest dates, so far known, being V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1289) and V.S. 1368 (A.D. 1311), respectively. Unfortunately, these inscriptions do not enlighten us on the political situation in Bundelkhand in an age when the forces of Alauddin Khilji (A.D. 1296-1316) were reducing every part of the country to subjection. They, however, show that Hammīravarman was not a mere local ruler of Ajayagadh. The Bamhni record, which styles him *Kālañjarādhipati*,[3] also proves that his suzerainty extended as far as Damoh and Jabalpur districts, in Madhya Pradesh, which were ruled by his feudatory *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadeva. Hiralal has shown

1. *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93.
2. *E.I.*, XX, p. 135, ll. 3-7 (text).
3. *Ibid.*, XVI, p. 10, n. 4.

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that 'at that time portions of the Damoh and Jubbulpore districts were governed by a *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadeva with headquarters at Singorgarh in the Damoh District. He appears to have been a Parihār chief who accepted the supremacy of Candella kings.'[1] But one of the *satī* stones found in the village of Salaiya, 3 miles from Bamhni, shows that the Parihāra-Candella rule soon came to an end in that area. There are two *satī* records in this village, one dated V.S. 1362, Caitra Sudi 2, Some (Monday, 9th March, A.D. 1304) in the 'reign of *Mahārājaputra* Vāghadeva' (*Mahārājaputra Śrī Vāghadeva bhujyamāne*) and the other dated V.S. 1366 (A.D. 1309) in the reign of Sultan Alauddin (*Alayadīna Sultāna rājya*).[2] The latter record leaves no doubt that this region had passed under the sway of the Khilji Sultan within a year of the Bamhni record which mentions the names of Hammīravarman and his feudatory Vāghadeva. We know from Muslim sources also that Alauddin's armies were marching to the Deccan about this period and they must have obtained a footing in Bundelkhand by ousting the local rulers.

Though Hammīravarman lost his territories in Damoh, he continued in possession of the fort of Ajayagadh and possibly of Kālañjara. There is no evidence that either of these famous strongholds was captured by Alauddin. The possible inclusion of Charkhari and Bijawar (in Bundelkhand) within his realm is indicated by his copper-plate found at the former place. Hiralal has also suggested that 'the Hamirpur district of the United Provinces (Uttar Pradesh)...derives its name from this Candella king'.[3] This district borders on the former Charkhari State, which might have been included within his kingdom.

The titles given to this king in different records also deserve to be noticed. In the Bamhni satī inscription he is styled '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka Sāhi Rājāvalītrayopeta Kālañjarādhipati Śrīmad....*',[4] and in his Charkhari plate as '*Paramabhaṭṭāraka*

1. *Ibid.*, p. 11 and n. 1.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 11 and n. 2.
3. *Ibid.*, XX, p. 134.
   According to another tradition, Hamirpur derives its name from Hammīradeva Kalacuri, a partisan of Pṛthvīrāja Cāhamāna, *Madhukara*, Vol. I, No. 15, p. 19.
4. *E.I.*, XX, p. 135, n. 1.

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Sāhi Rājāvalītrayopeta Kālañjarādhipati Mahārāja Śrī....'[1] It is significant that while the copper-plate gives full imperial titles, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* to his predecessors, it omits them in the case of Hammīravarman himself. Hiralal may not be far wrong in his suggestion that it was due to 'his reduced position'.[2] These two records mention a new title '*Sāhi*'. It may be in emulation of the contemporary Muslim sovereigns, but the title was certainly Known to India even before their advent. It was a well-known epithet of the Kuṣāṇas, and was also adopted by the Brāhmaṇa rulers of the North-West, belonging to the Ṣāhi dynasty. The Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011 also mentions it as a title of the king of Kīras (*Kīra-rāja*).[3]

Hammīravarman was the last important ruler of the Candella dynasty. We have already noticed how his rule was supplanted in a part of his dominions by that of the Khiljis. The growing Muslim influence in Bundelkhand in the 14th century A.D. and the rise of new local powers like the Khangars and Bundellas in Bundelkhand and Baghelas in the Rewah area literally squeezed the Candellas out of existence. The later princes of the dynasty maintained their possession over Kālañjara and possibly also over Ajayagadh till Kīratasiṁha (Kīrata Rāya), father of the famous princess Durgāvatī, lost the former to Islam Shah Suri in 1545. Durgāvatī, who was married to Dalpat Shāh of Garha Mandla, also fell fighting against the Mughal forces in 1564. 'With Rājā Kirat Siṁha and his heroic

1. *Ibid.*, p. 135, ll. 6-7 (text).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 135.
3. *Ibid.*, I, p. 129, v. 43.
4. *A.S.R.*, XXI. p. 89.

   Extant epigraphs possibly reveal the names of a few later princes of the dynasty. An Ajayagadh inscription (V.S. 1372/A.D. 1315) mentions a Vīra *nṛpa*, while another of apparently the same date mentions a Vīravarman. A Vīrarāja *nṛpa* and a Sasāṅgha (Śaśāṅka ?) *bhūpa* are also mentioned in an epigraph from Rayapura (V.S. 1408/A.D. 1351), while a Gobri inscription (V.S. 1407) refers to one *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī Vīra Rāja Deva. The names of Bhīlama Deva and Paramardi are mentioned, respectively, in inscriptions from Bachon (V.S. 1433/A.D. 1376) and Rasin (V.S. 1466/A.D. 1409). Cunningham, who noticed these epigraphs, was not sure whether all these princes belonged to the Candella dynasty, but as they have been found in the vicinity of Kālañjara and Ajayagadh, they may possibly refer to Vīravarman II (c. 1315) and Paramardi II (c. 1409); *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 88-9. These princes were mere local rulers and we know nothing of their history.

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daughter', observes Cunningham, 'the Candel sovereignty came to an end after a brilliant career of seven centuries and a half, from A.D. 800 to 1545 and 1564'.

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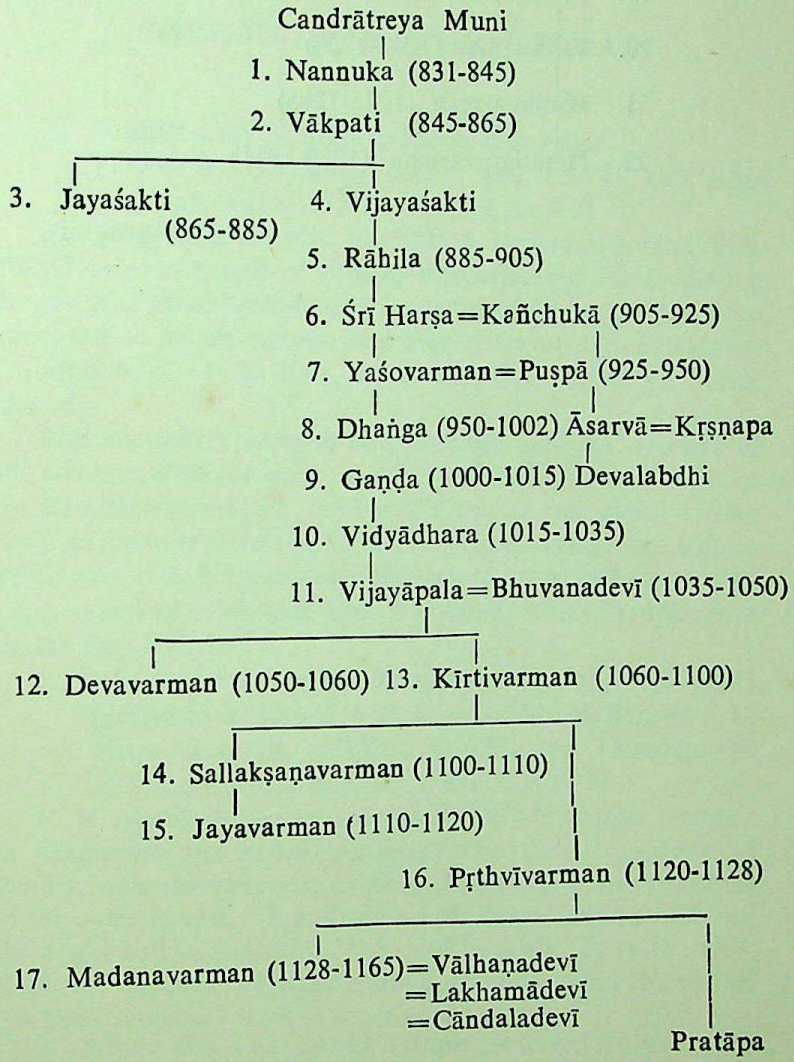
GENEALOGICAL TABLE



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Yaśovarman

18. Paramardideva (1165-1203)

19. Trailokyavarman (1203-1245)

20. Vīravarman (1245-1250)

21. Bhojavarman (1285-1288)

22. Hammīravarman (1288-1311)

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Appendix A

INSCRIPTIONS OF THE CANDELLAS

1. Fragmentary Khajuraho Stone Inscription
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 121-22; also, Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 65 and pl. XVI B)

The stone bearing this inscription appears to have been found near the temple of Vāmana at Khajuraho. It is only a fragment of an apparently very large inscription. It bears no date, but as its characters resemble those of the Khajuraho inscription of V.S. 1011, it is taken to be of the same period.

The inscription seems to have opened with an account of the creation of the universe, and of the rise of the family of the Candrātreya princes. In the 5th line it mentions a king from whom were born Jejjāka and Vijjāka (Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti) and in l. 7 it mentions Harṣadeva who had conquered many proud enemies, and had reinstated king Kṣitipāladeva on the throne (l. 10).

2. Khajuraho Jinanātha Temple Inscription, V.S. 1011
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 135-6; earlier, by R.L. Mitra, *J.A.S.B.*, XXXII, p. 279, and Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, II, p. 433 & XXI, p. 67, Pl. XVI J)

It is inscribed on the doorjamb of Jinanātha temple at Khajuraho, and records the gift of a number of gardens by Pāhilla, who was honoured by king Dhaṅga, probably in favour of the same temple. It is dated on Monday, the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1011 (April 2, A.D. 955). Kielhorn believes, on paleographic grounds, that this record has been re-incised from 'a more ancient copy'.

3. Khajuraho Lakṣmaṇajī Temple Inscription, V.S. 1011
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 122-35; noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, II, pp. 425-426; XXI, p. 65 and Pl. XVII)

The stone bearing this inscription was found amongst the

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ruins at the base of the Lakṣmaṇajī Temple at Khajuraho and is now built into the wall inside its entrance porch. Except for the introductory invocation to Vāsudeva and the concluding portion of the last line, the inscription is in verse throughout.

Its object is to record the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu (Vaikuṇṭha) by king Yaśovarman alias Lakṣmavarman—probably the temple near which it was found. It also gives an interesting history of the image of Vaikuṇṭha that was installed in it. Yaśovarman himself had received it from *Hayapati* Devapāla, son of Heraṁbapāla (king of Kanauj).

By way of introduction, the record traces the origin of the ruling family from Candrātreya *muni*, the son of Atri. It also mentions the names of the Candella rulers from Nannuka to Dhaṅga. They have been eulogised in a conventional manner, but the record gives a graphic description of the *digvijaya* of Yaśovarman, who is stated to have carried on successful wars against the Gauḍas, Khasas, Kośalas, Kaśmīras, Mithilas, Mālavas, Cedis, Kurus and Gurjaras. He is also said to have converted the rivers Gaṅgā and Yamunā into his 'pleasure lakes', and to have carried his forces up to the slopes of the Himalayas. Much of it may be mere *praśasti*, but it does contain some elements of truth, e.g. his conquest of Kālañjara.

Though this inscription appears to be an eulogy of Yaśovarman, but it was set up after his death, during the reign of his son Dhaṅga, who is described as ruling over a part of the country, the boundaries of which have been defined very precisely.

Finally, the record mentions the names of Mādhava, the poet, who composed it and of the writer *Karaṇika* Jaddha. The name of the engraver is now illegible. The date of the record V.S. 1011 (A.D. 954) is given in the last line, both in words and figures. At the close, it refers to Śrī Vināyakapāla, who is described as 'protecting the earth'. His identity remains uncertain.

4. Nanyaura C.P. of Dhaṅga, V.S. 1055
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202-04; earlier by Smith, *J.A.S.B.*, XLVII, Pt. I, pp. 84 ff)

This plate was discovered at the village of Nanyaura, dis-

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trict Hamirpur, U.P. The plate is now preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. There is no ring-hole in the plate for a ring with a seal attached to it, and no indication of a seal having ever been soldered on to it. It is the earliest copper-plate of the Candella dynasty, so far discovered, and in composition and legal phraseology it differs considerably from the later records of the family.

It opens with '*Oṁ svasti*', followed by seven beautiful verses eulogising Dhaṅga, his father and grandfather, who belonged to the *Bhagavatas-trailokya-cūḍamaṇeś-Candrātreya-muner-mmahīyasi kula*. Then follows the formal genealogical portion mentioning the same princes, who are given the usual titles, viz., *Paramabhaṭṭāraka, Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara*. The reigning sovereign is, in addition, given the epithet of *Śrī Kālañjarādhipati*.

The charter was issued by Dhaṅga at Kaśikā and is dated both in words and figures, on Sunday, the 15th of the bright half of Kārttika, V.S. 1055 (6th November, A.D. 998). It records the grant of Yullī (or Cullī) village appertaining (*pratibaddhaṁ*) to Ūṣaravāha, to Bhaṭṭa Śrī Yaśodhara, of Bhāradvaja *gotra*, and a follower of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā*. The donee's family had originally belonged to Tarkārikā, but it had settled at the village of Dūrvāharā. The grant was made on the occasion of a lunar eclipse. Lastly, we are told that 'this is the charter (*śāsanaṁ*) of Śrī Dhaṅgadeva' and it ends with his signatures.

5. Khajuraho Viśvanātha Temple Inscription, V.S. 1059 (Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 137-47; earlier by Sutherland, *J.A.S.B.*, VIII (1839), pp. 159 ff, and noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 66, Pl. XVIII)

The stone which bears this inscription was discovered by Capt. Burt in 1838, at Khajuraho. It is now built into the wall of the entrance porch of Viśvanātha Temple there. With the exception of the introductory invocation to Śiva and the date, this inscription is in verse throughout. It is divided into two parts—the first part (ll. 1-33) being the original record of Dhaṅga and the second part (ll. 33-34) being the postscript added to it by Jayavarman (vide No. 17 below).

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After the preliminary invocatory verses, the first part describes the legendary origin of the Candrātreya *vaṁśa* from Atri and Candra, and mentions the same genealogy of the dynasty as in No. 3—omitting the name of Jayaśakti. All of them have been eulogised in a conventional manner. The only information of historical value, *albeit* exaggerated, furnished by it is that Vijayaśakti bridged the southern ocean like Rāma, Yaśovarman constructed a tank and a temple of Vaikuṇṭha, and Dhaṅga established his snperiority over the rulers of Kośala, Kratha, Siṁhala, Kuntala, Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍha and Aṅga. It also mentions the names of Dhaṅga's mother Puppā (Puṣpā ?) and grandmother Kañchukā.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple of Śambhu by Dhaṅga, in which were installed a *liṅga* of emerald and another of ordinary stone. It also records other largesses of the king, probably on the occasion of the installation of the deity.

The *praśasti* composed by the poet Rāma 'was completed when the illustrious priest of the royal household Yaśodhara (also mentioned in No. 4) was directing the administration of justice'. It was written by the Kāyastha Yaśaḥpāla and engraved by Siṁha. It has also immortalised the name of Chicchā, the architect of the temple. The first part of the inscription closes with the statement: in 'the year 1059 (A.D. 1002) at ....kharjūravāhaka in the realm of king Dhaṅga the eulogy of the....divine Marakateśvara is completed'.

6. Dudhai Stone Inscriptions A-F of Devalabdhi
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 236-7; earlier by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, X, pp. 94-5, & Pl. XXXII, 1, 2, 4-6)

These six inscriptions are found in the Brahmā temple at Dudhai in Lalitpur district, U.P. They record the construction of the temple (*Kīrtana*), in which they are engraved, by Devalabdhi, son of Kṛṣṇapa and Āsarvā and grandson (*nāptṛ*) of Mahārājādhirāja Yaśovarman of Candella *anvaya*.

7. Fragmentary Jhansi stone Inscription of Kaṇhapa
(Noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, pp. 94-95 now in the State Museum, Lucknow)

This inscription belongs to the Candella rulers and mentions kings Vījaka (Vijayaśakti) and Dhaṅga, as well as the latter's

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younger brother Kaṇhapa (Kṛṣṇapa of No. 6 above). He is styled *nṛpa* and seems to have founded a city which was his *rājadhānī*. 'The *praśasti* appears to belong to Kaṇhapa himself though the purpose for which it was composed cannot be ascertained'.

8. Bhilsa S.I. of Vacaspati
(Transcribed by F.E. Hall, *J.A.S.B.*, XXXI (1862), p. 111 n. 1; commented upon by V.V. Mirashi, *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 278 ff, and the Śardhaśatābdī Volume of *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, pp. 176-81, etc.)

The stone bearing this inscription was found at Bhilsa (Vidisa), M.P. It begins with a verse invoking the blessings of the Sun God Bhaillasvāmin, and then narrates the exploits of Kauṇḍinya Vācaspati, the minister of a king named Kṛṣṇa. He is stated to have defeated a king of Cedi, killed the Śabara chief named Siṁha, and placed on their thrones the chiefs of Rālā-maṇḍala and Rodapādi. Later, he repaired to the temple of Bhaillasvāmin on the banks of the river Vetravatī and composed a *stotra* in praise of the god. At the end of the *praśasti*, we have the names of Gajāṅkuśeya who composed it and of the scribe Kāyastha Kākūka who wrote it.

Drs. Mirashi and Chakravarti identify king Kṛṣṇa of this record with Kaṇhapa or Kṛṣṇapa—a brother of Dhaṅga—mentioned in Dudhai inscriptions. Venkataramayya, however, proposes to identify him with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa ruler Krṣṇa III.

9. Maser Inscription of a Śulkī Chief
(Edited by Venkataramayya, *E.I.*, XXIX, pp. 18 ff; also *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State, 1930-31, p. 10; Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, No. 665; commented upon by V.V. Mirashi, *E.I.*, XXV, pp. 278-81; *I.H.Q.*, XXXI, pp. 105 ff and Śardhaśatābdī Commemoration Volume of *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, pp. 176-181)

It is a very fragmentary record, found at Maser, in Vidisa district, M.P. It refers, *inter alia*, to a Śulkī chief Narasiṁha who had initiated into widowhood the wives of a Kalacuri king at the command of a king named Kṛṣṇarāja. Venkataramayya identifies him with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III, but Dr. Mirashi has identified him with Kṛṣṇapa, the brother of Dhaṅga, mentioned in Nos. 6 and 7 above.

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10. Nanyaura C.P. of Devavarman, V.S. 1107
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202, 204-7; earlier by Smith, *J.A.S.B.*, XLVII, pt. I, pp. 80 ff)

This copper-plate was discovered, along with No. 4 above, in village Nanyaura, district Hamirpur, U.P. It traces the genealogy of the Candella kings from Vidyādhara to Devavarman, and eulogises the last-named in conventional phrases. It registers the *dāna* of a village by king Devavarman on the occasion of the annual *śrāddha* of his mother Rājñī Bhuvanadevi. The gift-village Kaṭha(hau ?) is described as appertaining (*saṁbaddha*) to Raṇamauā in Rājapura *avasthā*. The Brāhmaṇa donee, Abhimanyu of Bhāradvaja *gotra*, was a follower of Yajurveda and had emigrated from Dhakārī Bhaṭṭagrāma. The grant was made from the royal camp at Suhavāsa on Monday, the 3rd *tithi* of the dark half of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1107 (A.D. 1050).

11. Charkhari C.P. of Devavarman, V.S. 1108
(Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 125-28)

This charter is incised on a copper-plate which was found in the collection of the ruler of the former Charkhari State, now in Hamirpur District (U.P.) The figure of Gaja Lakṣmī is engraved on the top of the plate, and under her seat is inscribed the Royal Sign Manual—*Śrīmad Devavarmadevaḥ sva-hastaḥ*. Like No. 10, it also mentions the Candella kings from Vidyādhara to Devavarman—eulogising the last-named in a conventional manner. The charter, issued from Kālañjara, records the gift of a village by Devavarman on the occasion of a lunar eclipse and is dated (both in words and figures) Monday the 15th *tithi* of the bright half of Mārgaśīrṣa, V.S. 1108 (A.D. 1051). The grantee, Paṇḍita Kikkaṇa of Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra*, was a follower of Bahavṛca *śākhā* and hailed from Kumbhaṭo Bhaṭṭagrāma. The gift-village Bhūtapallikā in Navarāṣṭra-maṇḍala *viṣaya* was situated on the banks of the Yamunā.

12. Darbat Śāntinātha Image Inscription, of the time of Kīrtivarman, V.S. 1132
(Edited by D.C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, XXX, pp. 183-85; earlier noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, p. 92)

This inscription, recorded on a marble frieze found in the village of Darbat, near Mahoba in Hamirpur district, U.P., is

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now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. The image of Śāntinātha set up on the frieze is now lost. The record, partly in verse and partly in prose, is incised in three parts. Its object is to record the installation of an image (*rūpa*) of Śāntinātha by the Śreṣṭhins Pāhila and Jījū in V.S. 1132 (A.D. 1075) during the reign of Śrī Kīrtivarman, son of Vijayapāla. The Śreṣṭhins, who belonged to the *kul-āmātya-vṛnda* of the king, were evidently the scions of a family of hereditary ministers of the Candellas. The inscription also mentions Paṇḍitācārya Vāsavacandra (Vāsavendra), who appears to have been the *guru* of the Śreṣṭhins. Pāhila may be identical with the person of the same name mentioned in No. 27 below.

The findspot of the inscription suggests that the rulers mentioned in it belonged to the Candella dynasty. Dr. Chakravarti's identification of Vijayapāla with the homonymous Kacchapaghāta ruler of Dubkund is not correct.

13. Kālañjara Stone Inscription, V.S. 1147

(Noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I., A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93)

This inscription, brought to notice for the first time by Dr. Chakravarti, is incised on a stone built into the wall in the sanctum of the Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjara. It records the construction of two *maṇḍapas* dedicated to Nīlakaṇṭha by one Vāsudeva. The record mentions king Kīrtivarman in the seventh line and apparently belongs to the period of his reign. It is dated on the 7th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, V.S. 1147, the Nakṣatra being Revatī (Thursday, 10th January A.D. 1090).

14. Deogadh R.I. of the time of Kīrtivarman, V.S. 1154

(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVIII, pp. 237-39; earlier transcribed by Cunningham. *A.S.R.*, X, p. 103, Pl. XXXIII, 3, and edited by Hultzsch, *I.A.*, XI, p. 311)

This inscription is engraved on a rock near the river-gate of the fort of Deogadh in Lalitpur district, U.P. With the exception of the introductory invocation to Śiva and the date at the end, the entire inscription is in verse. Its object is to record the construction of the Kīrtigiri *durga* (Deogadh) and a flight of steps (Vatsarāja *ghaṭṭa*) by Vatsarāja, the chief minister of

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king Kīrtivarman. The minister, who was a resident of Ramaṇīpura, is stated to have 'quickly wrested' the whole district or *maṇḍala* (of Deogadh ?) from the enemy. Besides Kīrtivarman, the epigraph also mentions the names of his father Vijayapāla and grantfather Vidyādhara, and eulogises them in conventional terms. It is dated on Sunday, the second *tithi* of the bright half of Caitra, V.S. 1154 (March 7, 1098).

15. Ajayagadh R.I. of the time of Kīrtivarman
(Edited by S.L. Katare, *E.I.*, XXX, pp. 87-90; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 54-P and N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 92)

It is engraved on a rock lying below the upper gate of Ajayagadh Fort (M.P.), and belongs to the reign of Kīrtivarman. Except for the opening invocation to Caṇḍikā, the inscription is in verse. However, it ends abruptly—the last verse remaining incomplete. Its object is to eulogise Jājuka and Maheśvara, the scions of a Vāstavya Kāyastha family that had served the Candellas with great devotion and distinction. The former is said to have bestowed *jagatī-patitvaṁ* upon king Gaṇḍa and received the village of Dugauḍa in reward. The latter, who had rendered meritorious services to Kīrtivarman, while he was in distress in the region of Pītādri, was granted the village of Pipalāhikā. He was also placed in charge of the gates of the fort of Kālañjara.

This inscription also refers to the origin of the Vāstavya family from Brahmā's son Kaśyapa.

16. Mahoba Stone Inscription
(Edited by E. Hultzsch, *E.I.*, I, pp. 217-22; earlier by him in *Z.D.M.G.*, XL, p. 47; noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R*, XXI, pp. 71-2)

This inscription was found at Mahoba and is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. Though very much mutilated, it gives very valuable information about the rulers of the Candella dynasty. It traces its origin to the Moon, and seems to have mentioned all the rulers from Nannuka to a son of Kīrtivarman (name missing). About their achievements, we are told that Jejā (Jayaśakti) gave his name to Jejābhukti, Dhaṅga equalled the powerful Haṁvīra (Subuktigin or Mahmud), Vidyādhara caused the destruction of the king of Kānyakubja

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and was worshipped by king Bhojadeva (Paramāra) and the king of the Kalacuris, Vijayapāla curbed the pride of Gāṅgeya-deva (Kalacuri) and Kīrtivarman defeated Lakṣmīkarṇa. The last verse now extant refers to a son of Kīrtivarman. The rest of the inscription is lost.

17. Postscript to Khajuraho Inscription of V.S. 1059 of the time of Jayavarman, V.S. 1073 (vide No. 5 above)

King Jayavarman added this postscript to the inscription of Dhaṅga which he had re-incised 114 years later, presumably when the original record had got damaged or become illegible. It tells us that Jayavarman had 'written again this eulogy with clear letters' on Friday the third *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1173 (April 6, A.D. 1117).

S.L. Katare has referred to one other inscription of Jayavarman incised on a badly damaged slab of stone. According to him, it contained the genealogy of the Candella kings from Yaśovarman to Jayavarman.

The contents of this record are said to be 'of great value for the history of the Candellas and their contemporaries, the Kalacuris of Tripurī, the Paramāras of Dhāra, the Pratīhāras of Kanauj, the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj and Vārāṇasī and the Turkish invasion of India. Vidyādhara is expressly stated to have defeated *Hammīravīra* (Mahmud)—*I.H.Q.*, XXXV, pp. 340-357.

18. Kālañjara Pillar Inscription, V.S. 1186
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 34-A & Pl. X A)

This epigraph, incised on a pillar in the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha, at Kālañjara, opens with an invocation to Deva Śrī Nīlakaṇṭha, and subsequently mentions the name of Mahārāja Śrī Madanavarmmadeva, Mahāpratīhāra Saṁgrāma Siṁha and Mahanācanī Padmāvatī. It is dated V.S. 1186 (A.D. 1129). According to Cunningham, Saṁgrāmasiṁha and Padmāvatī were permanent attendants attached to the Nīlakaṇṭha shrine, respectively, as chief door-keeper and chief of the dancing girls. Dr. H.C. Ray, on the other hand, believes that the former was an official of the State, and the latter 'may have occupied the post of the chief court danseuse'.

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19. Kālañjara Broken P.I. of the time of Madanavarman, V.S. 1187
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 34-B, & Pl. X B)

The pillar bearing this inscription was found by Cunningham at the police station of Kālañjara, but it was said to have been brought there from the Nīlakaṇṭha temple. The record is dated Jyeṣṭha *sudi* 9, V.S. 1187 (A.D. 1130), and mentions the names of Śrīmad Madanavarmadeva and Śrī Trisalka. The inscription is incomplete, but its object seems to have been to commemorate certain benefactions of the latter at Kālañjarādri.

20. Kālañjara Rock Inscription, V.S. 1188
(Published by Maisey, *J.A.S.B.*, XVII, pp. 321-22, No. 4; reproduced by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 34-5 & Pl. X C)

This inscription is engraved on the rock to the north of the Nīlakaṇṭha temple. It is dated on Saturday, the 8th *tithi* of the light half of Kārtika, V.S. 1188 (A.D. 1131). It seems to refer to Mahārājaputra Śrī Vacha Rāja, a devoted follower of P.M.P. Madanavarman, who had installed the *mūrti* of Nīlakaṇṭha. The names of the sculptors (*Rūpakāra*) Lāhaḍa and Lakṣmīdhara and certain other persons are also mentioned.

21. Augasi copper-plate, V.S. 1190
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVI, pp. 202, 207-10; earlier by R.L. Mitra, *J.A.S.B.*, XLVII, Pt. I, pp. 73 ff)

This plate was found somewhere in the Augasi pargana of Banda district, U.P. There is a ring-hole in the lower part of the plate, but the ring and the seal attached to it are missing. At its top, in the middle, we find engraved a figure of Gaja Lakṣmī. It is the earliest of the available Candella copper-plates to conform to a prescribed form. Its object is to record the grant of ten ploughs of land together with the field named Jadiyā in the village of Vamharaḍā, in Sūḍali *viṣaya*, by Madanavarman to Rābhala (Rāsala ?) Śarman, on Pūrṇimā of the month of Māgha, V.S. 1190 (A.D. 1134), from his camp near Bhaillasvāmī (Bhilsa, now Vidisa). The donee, who was an emigree from the village of Dhakārī, belonged to the Bhāradvāja *gotra*, and was a follower of Vājasaneyī *śākhā* of

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Vedic studies. The charter was written by *dharmalekhin* Ṭha. Śrī Sūḍha and engraved by *vijñānika* Jalhaṇa. In addition to the remote ancestors Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the record also mentions two of the immediate predecessors of the donor viz., Pṛthvīvarman and Kīrtivarman.

22. Bharat Kala Bhawan Plates of Madanavarman, V.S. 1192
(Edited by D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXII, pp. 119-23)

This set of two plates, provenance unknown, is now in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi. The ring that held the plates together and the seal have not been found, but the figure of Gaja Lakṣmī is engraved on the top of the first plate.

This inscription records the grant of land in Valhauḍā *grāma* in Mahisiṇeha *viṣaya* by king Madanavarman to Some Śarman on the occasion of Viṣuvat Saṁkrānti. The donee belonged to Kautsa *gotra* and his family had emigrated from the Bhaṭṭāgrahāra of Pāṭalīputra. It further records that two other Brāhmaṇas—Dīkṣita Nārāyaṇa Śarman and Sahajū Śarman—were also allotted land in the same village in exchange for the land that they held elsewhere. The former, who belonged to Gautama gotra and hailed from the Bhaṭṭāgrahāra of Paṇikavaḍa had been granted land in certain villages in different *pattalas* by Nāḍūka, the *purohita* of Rājñī Lakhamādevī and Someka (Some Śarman). The latter, who was the brother of Some Śarman, had held the land formerly granted to him by Mahārājñī Vālhaṇa Devī and Rajñi Cāndala Devī, with the permission of the king. The charter was issued by Madanavarman on Tuesday, Caitra *vadi* 5, V.S. 1192 (March 3, 1136) from his camp at Pareyī *grāma*. It was written by *dharmalekhin* Sūḍha of Vāstavya *vaṁśa* and engraved by *Vijñānin* Ūheṇa of Ritikāra *kula*. In other respects, the charter follows the set pattern and mentions, besides Jayaśakti and Vijayaśakti, the names of two immediate predecessors of Madanavarman, who has been eulogised in two beautiful verses. It is the only record which mentions the names of Madanavarman's queens.

23. Papaurā Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1202
(Published in *Papaurā*, p. 20)

It is incised on the pedestal of an image of Ādinātha, in-

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stalled in a temple at Papaura near Tikamgadh (M.P.). Its object is to record the installation of the image on Wednesday, the tenth *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Āṣāḍha, V.S. 1202 (A.D. 1145), in the reign of Śrī Madanavarmmadeva by Sāhu Gopāla of Golāpurvva *anvaya* and a resident of Bhopāla *nagara*. The names of the father, wife and son of Gopāla are also mentioned.

24. Chhatarpur Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1203
(Noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S. I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 94)

The inscription, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Śāntinātha, now preserved in the Gandhi Asrama (formerly, Dewan's Kothi) at Chhatarpur (M.P), records the installation of the image on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the bright half of Phālguṇa, V.S. 1203 (10th February, A.D. 1147), in the reign of Śrīman Madanavarmmadeva.

25. Ajayagadh Upper Gate Jamb Inscription, V.S. 1208
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 49 and Pl. XII-A)

This epigraph, incised on the jamb of the upper (inner) gateway in the fort of Ajayagadh refers itself to the reign of Madanavarman, and is dated on Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight of the month of Mārgga, V.S. 1208 (10th November, A.D. 1151). In spite of the bold character of its letters, faulty engraving and repeated white-washing have made it almost undecipherable, and its object cannot be precisely determined. It mentions one Rāuta Śrī Veda, son of Rāuta Śrī Jauṇapāla, resident of Kortiā village and a Kṣatriya by caste, who appears to have done something in the Jayapura *durgga*, for the benefit of all its people. The record ends with the name of the *sūtradhāra* Ṭha. Śrī Suprata (Subhaṭa ?).

26. Mahoba Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1211
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 73, Pl. XXIII-D)

This epigraph, incised on the pedestal of an image of Neminātha, found at Mahoba, records the dedication of the image on Saturday, the 3rd *tithi* of the light half of Āṣāḍha, V.S.

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1211 (A.D. 1155) in the reign of Madanavarman. The sculptor of the image was the *rūpakāra* Lakhaṇa.

27. Khajuraho Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1215
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, p. 153; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 61-D, Pl. XX D)

This inscription, engraved on the pedestal of an image of Saṁbhavanātha, records the dedication of the *pratimā* by Sādhu Sālhe of Grahapati *vaṁśa*, on the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Māgha, V.S. 1215 (A.D. 1157-58), during the prosperous and victorious reign of Madanavarman.

The record also mentions the names of Sālhe's father, Pāhilla, grandfather and sons, besides that of the sculptor (*rūpakāra*) Rāmadeva. Pāhilla may be the same as mentioned in No. 12 above.

28. Vāridurga Grant of Madanavarman, V.S. 1219

The Semra plates of Paramardideva (No. 30 below) refer to a grant formerly made by his grandfather Madanavarman from his camp at Vāridurga on the 15th of the dark fortnight of the month of Māgha, V.S. 1219, on the occasion of a solar eclipse. The grant was confirmed by Paramardideva four years later.

29. Mau S.I. of the time of Madanavarman
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 195-207; earlier by Lt. Price, *Asiatic Researches*, XII, pp. 357-74)

The stone bearing this inscription was discovered at the foot of a rocky hill in the vicinity of the town of Mau, Jhansi district, U.P. It is now preserved in the National Museum, Calcutta. A considerable portion of the stone has been damaged but fortunately little of historical importance is lost.

The object of this inscription is to record the construction of a temple to Viṣṇu, the excavation of a tank in village Deddu and the execution of certain other works of piety by Gadādhara, a minister of king Madanavarman.

It also gives an account of the Candella rulers from Dhaṅga to Madanavarman as well as of the ministers belonging to the lineage of Gautama Akṣapāda who served them viz., Prabhāsa, the Chief Minister of Dhaṅga and Gaṇḍa, his son Śivanāga, the minister of Vidyādhara, his son Mahipāla, the minister of Vijayapāla, his son Ananta, a minister under Kīrtivarman and Sallakṣaṇavarman, his son Gadādhara, the *Pratīhāra* of Jaya-

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varman, who later held the post of Chief Minister under Pṛthvīvarman and Madanavarman. The inscription also alludes to Dhaṅga's defeat of the king of Kānyakubja and acquisition of 'exalted sovereignty', to Sallakṣaṇavarman's campaign in the Antarvedi and to Madanavarman's defeat of the rulers of Cedi and Mālava and to his friendly alliance with the king of Kāśī.

The names of the composer and engraver of the *praśasti* may have been given at the end, but they are no longer legible. There is no date, too, in the extant portion.

30. Semra C.P. Inscription of Paramardideva V.S. 1223
(Edited by W. Cartellieri, *E.I.*, IV, pp. 153-74)

These three copper-plates, joined together by a plain ring, were found at Semra, a village in the former Bijawar State, now in M.P. They are now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. Their object is to record the grant of certain villages by Madanavarman (Vide No. 28 above) and its confirmation by Paramardideva, four years later on Thursday, Vaiśākha *sudi* 7, V.S. 1223 (April 27, 1167). The list of donees includes the names of 309 Brāhmaṇas belonging to different *gotras* and *caraṇas*. The names of their *pravaras* as well as of the *bhaṭṭāgrahāras* to which they belonged have been omitted, evidently to economise space. One of the donees was Senāpati Ajayapāla, son of Senāpati Kīlhaṇa.

The confirmatory charter, issued from the king's camp at Sonasara, was written by *dharmalekhin* Pṛthvīdhara of Vāstavya *vaṁśa* and engraved by *pitalahāra* Pālhaṇa.

This is the earliest land-grant charter (*tāmra-paṭṭa*) of Paramardideva, discovered so far. It gives the following order of succession : P.M.P. Pṛthvīvarmadeva, P.M.P. Madanavarmadeva, P.M.P. Parama-māheśvara Kālañjarādhipati Paramardideva. Madanavarman is described as his grandfather. Towards the end, the charter bears the signatures of the king. In these respects, this record has been followed by all the subsequent charters issued by Paramardideva.

This inscription gives very valuable information about the Brāhmaṇas in the 12th cen., mentioning the names of different *caraṇas*, 41 *gotras* (one of them being Candrātreya) and several *upādhis*, which had not yet become hereditary. The *caraṇas*,

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too, seem to have been changeable for while Senāpati Ajayapāla and his father are listed among the donees of Ṛgveda *caraṇa*, his two sons Mahārāja and Vacharāja are placed among those of Yajurveda *caraṇa*. One of the donees was of Pratīhāra *anvaya*.

31. Mahoba Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1224
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 74, Pl. XXIII G)

This epigraph, inscribed on the pedestal of a Jaina image, records its dedication on Sunday, Āṣāḍha *sudi* 2, V.S. 1224 (June 9, A.D. 1168) during the *pravardhamāna-vijaya-rājya* of Kālañjarādhipati Śrimat Paramardideva.

32. Ichchhawar C.P. Inscription of Paramardideva, V.S. 1228
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XXV, pp. 205-8; earlier by Smith and Hoey, *J.A.S.B.*, LXIV, Pt. I, pp. 155 ff & Pl. VII)

This set of two plates found in village Ichchhawar, district Banda, U.P., is now in the State Museum, Lucknow. Each plate has a hole, but the ring and the seal attached to them have been lost. The charter, issued from the royal camp at Vilāsapura, registers a grant made by king Paramardideva on the occasion of a lunar eclipse on Sunday, the 15th of Śrāvaṇa *sudi*, V.S. 1228 (July 18, A.D. 1171). The gift village was Nandiṇī in Nandāvaṇa *viṣaya*, and the donee was Senāpati Madanapāla, a Brāhmaṇa of Kṛṣṇātreya *gotra* and a follower of the Chāndogya *śākhā*, who had emigrated from Naugāva Bhaṭṭāgrahāra. The writer and engraver are the same as mentioned in No. 30 above.

33. Mahoba C.P. Inscription of Paramardideva, V.S. 1230
(Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 9-15)

This record is inscribed on two plates which were found deposited in a stone chest in Mahoba, district Hamirpur, U.P. The plates were strung together with a ring to which a seal was also attached. They are now in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The object of this charter is to record the grant of 60 square '*vādhas*' of agricultural land and 52 cubits of land for a dwelling house by king Paramardideva in village Dhanaura in

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Erachha *viṣaya* to Brāhmaṇa Ratnaśarman. The donee who belonged to the Sānkṛtya *gotra* was a follower of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā* and had emigrated from the Phoḍiva Bhaṭṭāgrahāra. The gift was made on the occasion of the Makara Saṁkrānti, which fell on Tuesday, Māgha *vadi* 4, V.S. 1230 (25th December, 1173 A.D.). The charter was issued from the king's camp at village Gahilū. The writer and the engraver are the same as in the two preceding charters.

34. Pachar C.P. Inscription of Paramardideva, V.S. 1233 (Edited by A. Venis, *E.I.*, X, pp. 44-49)

This copper-plate, found in Pachar, a village in Jhansi district, U.P., is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow. It has a circular hole at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal has been traced so far. It registers the grant of 10 *halas* of land in village Lauvā in Karigavā *viṣaya* made by king Paramardideva. The donee Keśava Śarman, a Brāhmaṇa of Kaśyapa *gotra* and a student of the Vājasaneyī *śākhā*, had emigrated from Mutāuṣa Bhaṭṭāgrahāra. The charter was issued from the royal camp at Vilāsapura and is dated, Wednesday, Kārttika *vadi* 8, V.S. 1233 (27th October, A.D. 1176). Towards the close of the charter, we find the signatures of the king, the names of the writer, *dharmalekhin* Śubhānanda of Vāstavya *vaṁśa* and of the engraver Pālhaṇa.

35. Charkhari C.P. Inscription of Paramardideva, V.S. 1236) (Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 128-31)

This set of two plates was also discovered in the collection of the ruler of the former Charkhari State. This charter records a grant of Paramardideva in favour of four Brāhmaṇas, Tiwāris Some, Svapaṭa, Ratana and Sīḍha, who belonged to Vatsa *gotra* and had emigrated from Mutāutha (Mutāuṣa ?) Bhaṭṭāgrahāra. The gift village was Sagauḍo in Kirāyiḍa *viṣaya*. The share allotted to each of the donees has been specified. The charter was issued from the royal camp at Vilāsapura on Monday, Chaitra *sudi* 7, V.S. 1236 (27th March, 1178 A.D.). It is interesting to note that 5 *halas* of land in the village which was the property of a Buddhist establishment has been excluded from the gift. The record also contains the signatures of the donor, and the names of the writer and engraver of the document, who are the same as in No. 34.

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36. Ahara Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1237
(Edited by Hiralal Jain, *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā*, XVI, pp. 273-78; also, *Premi Abhinandan Grantha*, pp. 624-26, and *Ahāra*, pp. 15-19)

This record is incised on the pedestal of a colossal image of Śāntinātha at Ahara, near Tikamgadh (M.P.). It states that the image was caused to be made by two brothers Jāhaḍa and Udayacaṁdra, sons of Śreṣṭhin, Galhaṇa of the Grahapati family. The *pratimā* was installed on Friday, the third of the bright half of Mārgga, V.S. 1237 (A.D. 1180) in the 'victorious reign' of Paramardideva. The sculptor was the *Vāstuśāstrajña rūpakāra* Pāpaṭa.

The inscription also states that Galhaṇa had constructed a *Caityālaya* dedicated to Śāntinātha at Nandapura and another at Sri Madaneśasāgarapura (Ahara ?). It also refers to one Devapāla of the Grahapati family who had constructed the Sahasrakūṭa Caityālaya at Bāṇapura, and to his son Ratnapāla, but the relationship between these two persons and Galhaṇa and his sons is not apparent. Bāṇapura is a town in Jhansi district, U.P., and the Sahasrakūṭa Caityālaya still exists there in a dilapidated condition.

37. Bharat Kala Bhawan Plate of Paramardideva, V.S. 1239
(Edited by D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXII, pp. 123-25)

This plate is also in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, but its provenance is unkown. It records a grant of king Paramardideva in favour of Padumadhara Śarman, a Brāhmaṇa of Kautsa *gotra*, who was a follower of Vājasaneyī *śākhā* and an emigree from Pāṭalīputra *nagara*. The gift village was Vavauḍā in Duduhi *viṣaya*. The charter was issued from the king's camp at Sallakṣaṇa-Vilāsapura on Tuesday, Phālguṇa *vadi* 4, V.S. 1239 (February 23, 1182 A.D.). It was written by *dharmalekhin* Ṭhakkura Viṣṇuka and engraved by Pālhaṇa, the *pitalahāra*.

Padumadhara is the son of a brother of Some Śarman mentioned in No. 22 above, and Sallakṣaṇa-Vilāsapura seems to have been named after king Sallakṣaṇavarman. It may be identical with Vilāsapura mentioned in No. 34 etc.

38. Kālañjara R.I. of the time of Paramardideva, V.S. 1240

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(Noticed in *E.I.*, V, Appendix p. 26, No. 178; *Ib.* XX, Appendix p. 59, No. 400; *I.A.*, XIX, p. 37, No. 67)

This inscription has not been published so far. All that Kielhorn mentions of its contents in his 'List' is 'Śrīmat Paramardideva *vijaya-rājye* saṁvat 1240....Vaiśākha *sudi* 14 *Gurau*' (Thursday, April 26, A.D. 1184).

39. Mahoba S.I. of the time of Paramardideva, V.S. 1240 (Edited by V.V. Mirashi, *Bhārata Kaumudī*, I, pp. 433-39; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 72 & Pl. XXII; Smith, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1879, pp. 143 ff and N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1936-37, p. 94)

The stone bearing this inscription was found built into the fort-wall at Mahoba, U.P., and is now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a temple during the reign of a king who belonged to Candra *kula*, but the names of the reigning king and his ancestors are now lost. However, the provenance and the date of the record suggest that it belonged to the reign of Paramardideva. The extant portion of the epigraph contains a *praśasti* of the king which describes his *digvijaya* and charity in a conventional manner. In particular, it refers to his wars in Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kalinga and against the ruler of Tripurī. We are further told that the temple was caused to be constructed by Mādhava, a Brāhmaṇa of Kaśyapa *gotra*. The names of Jayapāla who composed the *praśasti* and Devarāja who incised it are also mentioned. At the end of the record is given the date—Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the year 1240, in the era of Sāhasāṅka (Vikrama) or June 4, A.D. 1184.

40. Bharat Kala Bhawan Plate of Paramardideva, V.S. 1247

(Edited by D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXII, pp. 126-28)

The provenance of this plate also, now in the collection of Bharat Kala Bhawan, Varanasi, is unknown. The charter is incised on two plates, but the second plate which contained the signatures of the king and the names of the writer and engraver has been lost.

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It records the grant of 10 *lavas* of land in Iṭalā *grāma* in Pāṣuṇī *viṣaya* by king Paramardideva on Saturday, Phālguṇa *sudi* 14, V.S. 1247 (February 9, 1191). The grant was made when the king was at Maṇikarṇikā *ghāṭa* in Vārāṇasī,—'apparently in the course of a pilgrimage'. Dr. V.S. Pathak suggests that he was on his way to Gāhaḍavāla capital to attend the Rājasūya *yajña* of king Jayacandra. The donee was the same Brāhmaṇa as mentioned in No. 37 above, but here he is described as the follower of Bahavṛca *śākhā* of Vedic studies.

41. Baghari S.I. of the time of Paramardideva, V.S. 1252 (Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 207-14; earlier published by Hultzsch, *Z.D.M.G.*, XL, pp. 51-4; noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 82, No. 52; and Smith and Hoey, *J.A.S.B.*, XLIV, p. 158, n. 1)

This inscription, now in the State Museum, Lucknow, was found on the bank of a lake at Singhanpur Baghari, near Mahoba, and not at Batesvara in Agra district as stated by Kielhorn. The stone being partly broken, some of the letters are missing. Except for the introductory invocation to Vāsudeva and the concluding benediction, the entire inscription is in verse.

The record belongs to a Brāhmaṇa family of Vaśiṣṭha *gotra* that had served the Candellas for several generations. The first two members of the family viz., Lakṣmīdhara and Vatsarāja were eminent scholars. The latter's son Lāhaḍa was the chief counsellor of Madanavarman. His son Sallakṣaṇa served on the same post under Paramardideva, and, on his death, was succeeded in office by his son Puruṣottama. By way of introduction, the inscription refers to the origin of the ruling family from the Moon and Atri, and mentions king Madanavarman, his son Yaśovarman and grandson Paramardideva. This is the only epigraph which mentions the name of Paramardin's father who appears to have died during the life-time of Madanavarman. This is confirmed by the fact that the inscription does not refer to any minister of his.

Its object is to record the construction of a temple of Viṣṇu and another of Śiva by Sallakṣaṇa. The latter temple was completed by his son Puruṣottama.

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The inscription is dated in chronogram only on Sunday, the 5th *tithi* of the bright half of Āśvina, V.S. 1252 (September 10, A.D. 1195). It was composed by poet Devadhara, son of Gadādhara, the minister for peace and war of Paramardideva, written by his younger brother Dharmadhara and engraved by Mahārāja.

42. Kālañjara S.I. of Paramardideva, V.S. 1258
(Edited by Maisey, *J.A.S.B.*, XVII (1848), Pt. I, pp. 313-18; reproduced by Cunningham in *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 37-38 H. He corrects the year wrongly read by Maisey as 1298)

It is engraved on a large black stone inside the temple of Nīlakaṇṭha at Kālañjara. The epigraph opens with an invocation to Śiva and the first 24 lines 'contain only a eulogistic and glowing address to Śiva and Pārvatī'. The remaining 8 lines are devoted to panegyrics of Paramardideva, but are of little historical value. He is styled '*Daśārṇādhināṭha*', and is said to have 'himself composed with his innate faith this eulogy of Purāri'. The inscription was written and engraved by Padma, 'a favourite of the king' and his younger brother Deoka. The date, Monday, the 10th of the bright half of Kārttika, V.S. 1258 (8th October, A.D. 1201) is given at the end.

43. Garra C.P. Inscription I of Trailokyavarman, V.S. 1261
(Edited by K.N. Dikshit, *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 272-77)

This Plate was found in a tank near the village of Garra, district Chhatarpur (M.P.). It traces the order of succession from Madanavarman to Trailokyavarman, and records a grant made by the latter in favour of Rāuta Sāvaṅta, whose father Rāuta Pāpe was killed in a battle with the Turuṣkas at Kakaḍādaha. The grant-village was Kāḍohā in Pāṇiuli *viṣaya* The charter was issued from the royal camp at Vaḍavāḍa and is dated Friday, Vaiśākha *sudi* 2, 1261 (April 22, A.D. 1205).

44. Garra C.P. Inscription II of Trailokyavarman, V.S. 1261
(Edited by K.N. Dikshit, *E.I.*, XVI, pp. 272-77)

This plate was also found along with the preceding one, with which it is almost identical in character and contents. It records another grant of Trailokyavarman in favour of Rāuta Sāmaṅta —the gift village being Lohāsihānī in Vikrauṇī *viṣaya*. This char-

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longed to the Mauṇḍilya (?) *gotra*. The gift village Rehi was situated in Vadhārā *pattalā*. The charter is dated on Kārttikī, i.e. the full moon day of the month of Kārttika, V.S. 1297 (A.D. 1239). It was drawn up by Kāyastha Muktasiṁha, written by Mālādhara, engraved by the *śilpins* Jayasiṁha and Pratāpasiṁha, and acquired (*upārjjitam*) by Rāuta Sāvaṅta. The record refers itself to the *Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya* of Trailokyavarmadeva. This prince has been identified, both by Cunningham and Kielhorn, with the homonymous Candella prince. Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla must have owned allegiance to him.

49. Rewah C.P. Inscription of Harirāja, V.S. 1298
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 234 ff; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 148-D)

This inscription, engraved on three small plates, also begins with the same invocatory verses as the preceding one, to which it resembles in contents and character. It records a grant of Mahārāṇaka Harirāja of Kakareḍikā in favour of the Brāhamaṇas, viz., Rāutas Sāṅge, Suhaḍa, Mahāditya, Sāmaṅta, and Ramasiṁha. The names of their grandfather, *gotra* and *pravaras* are the same as given in the preceding record. The gift village was Agaseyi in Vaḍhārā *pattalā*. The charter is dated in the month of Māgha, V.S. 1298 (A.D. 1241). It was written by the Karaṇika Ṭhakkura Udayasiṁha, and engraved by Gāṅge. This record also refers itself to *vijaya-rājya* of Trailokyamalladeva, who has also been identified with the Candella prince Trailokyavarman. Mahārāṇaka Harirāja, too, must have been subordinate to him.

50. Charkhari C.P. Inscription of Vīravarman, V.S. 1311
(Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 132-34)

The plate bearing this inscription was also found in the collection of the ruler of the erstwhile Charkhari State. This charter is not an ordinary *dāna-patra* but a *prasāda-patra* as defined in the *Śukranīti*. It is the earliest inscription of Vīravarman's reign, and, following the usual style of the Candella charters, traces the order of succession from Madanavarman to the donor. Its object is to record the grant (*prasāda*) of the village of Ṭumuṭumā in Dāhī *viṣaya* to Rāuta Abhi of Kaśyapa

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The record is not a land-grant but a *vitta-bandha* (deed of mortgage) for the village of Alīra, in Dhovahaṭṭa *pattana* of Dhavavāhi *pattalā*. The village was pledged by the Śaiva teacher Śāntaśiva, son of Rājaguru Vimalaśiva, to Rāṇaka Dhareka, but no mention is made of the amount of loan. The names of the father and grandfather of the mortgagee, as also his *gotra*, are mentioned, but not of the principality over which he was ruling. The deed was executed by Nādaśiva on the authorization of his elder brother Śāntaśiva. Next, we find the names of seven witnesses, of the writer and engraver of the document, as well as of a person who was probably 'authorised to take possession, evidently on behalf of the mortgagee'. The record refers itself to 'the prosperous, auspicious and victorious reign' of Trailokyamalladeva, and is dated Monday, Jyeṣṭha *sudi* 7, K.S. 963 (A.D. 1212).

King Trailokyamalla mentioned in this record has been identified by Drs. Mirashi and Chakravarti with the Candella king Trailokyavarman, but he has been given very interesting titles—a curious jumble of Kalacuri and Gāhaḍavāla titles. The record also mentions the names of certain important officials of his regime.

47. Ajayagadh Stone Inscription, V.S. 1269
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 50 & Pl. XII-D)

The stone bearing this record was found near the tank of Pātālsar at Ajayagadh. It is dated on Saturday the 2nd or 9th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Phālguṇa, V.S. 1269 (the 9th or the 16th of February, A.D. 1213), in the 'Victorious reign' of Trailokyavarmadeva.

48. Rewah C.P. Inscription of Kumārapāla, V.S. 1297
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 230 ff; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 146-48-C)

The inscription, engraved on two plates, opens with the words *oṁ oṁ siddhiḥ*, followed by three invocatory verses in honour of Brāhmaṇa, Viṣṇu (Puruṣottama) and Śiva (Tryambaka). It records a grant of Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla of Kakareḍikā in favour of six Brāhmaṇas, Rāutas Sāṅge, Suhaḍa, Mahaita, Rameśiha, Somivijhu and Sāvaṅta, sons of Rāuta Anavapāla. They were the followers of Yajurveda, and be-

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longed to the Mauṇḍilya (?) *gotra*. The gift village Rehi was situated in Vadhārā *pattalā*. The charter is dated on Kārttikī, i.e. the full moon day of the month of Kārttika, V.S. 1297 (A.D. 1239). It was drawn up by Kāyastha Muktasiṁha, written by Mālādhara, engraved by the *śilpins* Jayasiṁha and Pratāpasiṁha, and acquired (*upārjjitam*) by Rāuta Sāvaṅta. The record refers itself to the *Kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājya* of Trailokyavarmadeva. This prince has been identified, both by Cunningham and Kielhorn, with the homonymous Candella prince. Mahārāṇaka Kumārapāla must have owned allegiance to him.

49. Rewah C.P. Inscription of Harirāja, V.S. 1298
(Edited by Kielhorn, *I.A.*, XVII, pp. 234 ff; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 148-D)

This inscription, engraved on three small plates, also begins with the same invocatory verses as the preceding one, to which it resembles in contents and character. It records a grant of Mahārāṇaka Harirāja of Kakareḍikā in favour of the Brāhamaṇas, viz., Rāutas Sāṅge, Suhaḍa, Mahāditya, Sāmaṅta, and Ramasiṁha. The names of their grandfather, *gotra* and *pravaras* are the same as given in the preceding record. The gift village was Agaseyi in Vaḍhārā *pattalā*. The charter is dated in the month of Māgha, V.S. 1298 (A.D. 1241). It was written by the Karaṇika Ṭhakkura Udayasiṁha, and engraved by Gāṅge. This record also refers itself to *vijaya-rājya* of Trailokyamalladeva, who has also been identified with the Candella prince Trailokyavarman. Mahārāṇaka Harirāja, too, must have been subordinate to him.

50. Charkhari C.P. Inscription of Vīravarman, V.S. 1311
(Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 132-34)

The plate bearing this inscription was also found in the collection of the ruler of the erstwhile Charkhari State. This charter is not an ordinary *dāna-patra* but a *prasāda-patra* as defined in the *Śukranīti*. It is the earliest inscription of Vīravarman's reign, and, following the usual style of the Candella charters, traces the order of succession from Madanavarman to the donor. Its object is to record the grant (*prasāda*) of the village of Ṭumuṭumā in Dāhī *viṣaya* to Rāuta Abhi of Kaśyapa

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gotra and Candreśvara *anvaya* for meritorious service at the battle of Sondhī in the war against Dabhyuhaḍavarman.

The charter was issued from the king's camp at Vilāsapura on Monday, Āśvin *sudi* 8, V.S. 1311 (September 21, A.D. 1254). The names of writer and engraver are not mentioned. It deserves to be noticed that though the grant was made as a reward for war services yet it purports to have been made for increasing the religious merit of the grantor and his parents.

51. Ajayagadh R.I. of Kalyāṇadevī, V.S. 1317
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 325-30; earlier noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 51 and Pl. XIII E)

This inscription is inscribed on the front face of the rock forming the roof of two small reservoirs of water, known as Gaṅgā-Yamunā, at Ajayagadh. With the exception of the introductory '*oṁ oṁ siddhiḥ*' and the date at the end, the inscription is in verse throughout. Beginning with a verse in praise of the river goddess Gaṅgā, it traces the origin of the Candella *vaṁśa* from the Moon and mentions the names of the rulers of the dynasty from Kīrtivarman to Vīravarman. Kīrtivarman is eulogised for his success against the Cedi king Karṇa, and Sallakṣaṇavarman for defeating the rulers of Mālava and Cedi. Trailokyavarman is credited with the lifting up of the earth immersed in the ocean formed by the streams of Turuṣkas. Other rulers have been praised vaguely for their victories and conquests against unspecified enemies. It also suggests that Paramardideva was a minor (*bāla*) when he came to the throne.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of a *nirjara-kūpa* and *prapā* at Ajayagadh and of a tank and hall at Nāndipura by Vīravarman's queen Kalyāṇadevī. She was the daughter of king Maheśvara of Dadhīci *vaṁśa* and Vesaladevī (?), a daughter of king Govindarāja. The *praśasti*, which devotes several verses to eulogise Kalyāṇadevī, was composed by Ratnapāla, son of the poet (*kavi*) Haripāla and grandson of kavi Vatsarāja (probably the author of *Rūpakaṣaṭakaṁ*), and engraved by the artisan Rāma. It is dated, both in chronogram and in figures, on Thursday, Vaiśākha *Sudi* 13, V.S. 1317 (14th April, A.D. 1261), 'during the office

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of (*vyāpāre*) Rāuta Śrī Jetana, (and) in the reign of (*rājye*) Śrīmad Vīravarman'.

52. Jhansi Stone Inscription, V.S. 1318
(Noticed in *I.A.*, XIX, p. 179, No. 128; *E.I.*, V, Appendix, No. 227; *Ib.*, XX, Appendix, No. 560; and *Catalogue of the Archaeological Exhibits in the U.P. Provincial Museum, Lucknow* (1915), Pt. I, pp. 50-51)

This inscription, now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, was discovered at Jhansi in the walls of the fort. It is a land-grant charter incised on a basalt slab. A portion of the stone being broken, several letters of the last 11 lines have disappeared. Bad engraving makes it all the more illegible. The document was noticed by Kielhorn from a rubbing supplied by Burgess, but it has not yet been edited. The Lucknow Museum catalogue contains the following account of its contents : 'The first two lines....invoke all the chief divinities of the Hindu pantheon together with the teachers and the poets. Śiva is again invoked by repeating the verse with which Kālidāsa commenced his *Vikramorvaśī*. The object of the grant is to record that Rāṇaka Abhayadeva who was a scion of the lunar race and the family of the Yadus granted to his Bhaṇḍārī or Treasurer named Sūlhaṇa, the son of Rāuta Dheka, a village the name of which appears to be Sakela...' It is dated on Wednesday, Śrāvaṇa *badi* 2, V.S. 1318 (5th July, 1262 A.D.). Vīravarman to whom this inscription has been ascribed by Prof. Kielhorn seems to have been the liege lord of Abhayadeva.

53. Ajayagadh Stone Inscription of Abhayadeva, V.S. 1325
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 51 F, Pl. XIV F)

This epigraph consists of only three lines inscribed on the wall of a deserted temple at Ajayagadh. It records the 'adorations to Īśvara' by Abhayadeva, the son of *Aśva-vaidya* Ṭhakkura Bhojaka, of Vatsa *gotra*, and is dated in V.S. 1325 (A.D. 1268), in the reign (*rājye*) of Vīravarman. Kielhorn identifies Bhojaka with Bhojuka killed by Vāseka during the reign of Trailokyavarman.

54. Ajayagadh Jaina Image Inscription, V.S. 1331
(Noticed by R.K. Dikshit, *Summaries of Papers*, All

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India Oriental Conference 1951, p. 150; edited by V.S. Pathak, *Bhāratī*, Varanasi)

It is incised on the pedestal of a mutilated image of Sumatinātha, which was noticed by R.K. Dikshit within a ruined brick enclosure on the western bank of the Ajayapāla tank at Ajayagadh (M.P.). The image was installed by Ācārya Kumudacandra on Wednesday, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa, V.S. 1331 (A.D. 1274-75) in the reign of Śrīmad Vīravarmadeva. The inscription also mentions *muni* Kunda kunda, Ācārya Ghanakirti and Mūla Saṁgha.

55. Ajayagadh Śāntinātha Image Inscription, V.S. 1335
(Noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, pp. 91-92; also by Hiralal, *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, No. 2)

It is inscribed on the pedestal of a colossal stone image of Śāntinātha placed in a ruined temple to the west of the Ajayapāla tank at Ajayagadh. This inscription records the installation of the image by *Sādhu* Soḍhala, resident of Jayapura *durga*. It is dated Monday, Caitra *sudi* 13, V.S. 1335 (March 27, A.D. 1279), in the *vijaya-rājya* of Vīravarmadeva.

56. Ajayagadh S.I. of Gaṇapati, V.S. 1337
(Noticed by N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 91; earlier by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 52 and Pl. XIV G; also by Hiralal, *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, Pt. 2)

This inscription is inscribed on a block of stone, bearing an image of Gaṇeśa in relief. When noticed by Chakravarti, it lay below the path leading to the Gaṅgā-Yamunā kuṇḍa at Ajayagadh. It mentions Lakṣmīdhara, Yaśaḥpāla, Śrīdhara, Gokula, Bhoja (?), Mahīpāla, Gaṁgādhara and Jagaddhara, belonging to a Gauḍa family, who had served, respectively, under kings Kīrtivarman, Sallakṣaṇavarman, Jayavarman, Pṛthvīvarman, Madanavarman, Paramardin, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman in different capacities.

The object of the inscription is to record that Gaṇadhīśa or Gaṇapati, a brother of Jagaddhara had installed the image of Dānī Vināyaka on Monday, Māgha *sudi* 13, V.S. 1337 (February 3, A.D. 1281). The date is given both in chronogram and figures.

57. Dahi C.P. Inscription of Vīravarman, V.S. 1337

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(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 74-76; also D.C. Sircar, *I.H.Q.*, XXXII, pp. 404-05)

This copper-plate, obtained by Col. Ellis from Dahi, near Bijawar (M.P.) in 1848, has been lost. Cunningham has given an abstract of its contents from an impression of the inscription that he could procure. The charter, which appears to have followed the set form, mentions the following order of succession : Madanavarman, Paramardideva, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman. Its object is to record Vīravarman's grant of the village of Dāhi to Balabhadra Mallaya, an 'illustrious chief', for his distinguished services. A Brāhmaṇa of Kaśyapa *gotra*, he is said to have defeated, among others, the lord of Narwar (*Nalapura-pati*), king Gopāla of Madhuvana (Gopāla Madhuvanaka) and king Harirāja of Gopagiri (Gwalior). The charter is dated Sunday, Vaiśākha *sudi* 15, V.S. 1337 (April 16, A.D. 1280).

58. Gurha Sati S.I., V.S. 1342
(Noticed by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, V, Appendix, p. 35, No. 242; also, *Ib.*, XX, Appendix No. 608)

This inscription, noticed by Kielhorn from a rubbing supplied by Hoernle, has not been edited so far. It is dated Wednesday, Caitra *sudi* 3, V.S. 1342 (A.D. 1286) in the reign of Vīravarmadeva.

59. Kālañjara Stone Inscription
(Published and translated by Maisey, *J.A.S.B.*, XVII (1848), pp. 317-320; reproduced by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 38-40, No. J)

This fragmentary inscription is carved on a sandstone slab in Nīlakaṇṭha temple at Kālañjara, U.P. It seems to have mentioned the names and achievements of the Candella kings from Vijayapāla to Vīravarman. It refers to Kīrtivarman's defeat of Karṇa and the king of Mālava, Jayavarman's abdication, Madanavarman's defeat of the king of Gurjara, as well as to the construction of temples, gardens, ponds and tanks by Vīravarman. It also mentions the names of Pratāpa, a younger brother of Madanavarman, and of Vallukī Vīra (?), the composer of the *praśasti*.

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60. Ajayagadh S.I. of Nāna, V.S. 1345
(Edited by H.L. Srivastava, *E.I.*, XXVIII, pp. 98-107, earlier by Prinsep, *J.A.S.B.*, VI (1837), pp. 881-87)

This inscription incised on a slab of stone found at Ajayagadh was presented to the Museum of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by General Stewart. Except for the introductory invocation to Vāsudeva at the beginning and the date and particulars of the scribe at the end, the whole record is in verse. Its object is to record the establishment of a temple dedicated to Keśava at Jayadurga by Nāna, a minister of king Bhoja varman.

After offering salutations to Viṣṇu, it invokes His blessings as well as those of His different incarnations. Thereafter comes the donor's genealogy which is of little historical interest. The Kāyastha Śrīvāstava family to which Nāna belonged traces its origin to Kaśyapa the son of the Creator, and is said to have originated at Kausāmyapura (Kausambi ?). The surname Śrīvāstava was earned for the first time by Hārūka, an early member of the family. The inscription also adds that some of the ancestors of Nāna were the ministers of Candrātreya kings. Towards the end, it refers to the wife and sons of Nāna, and mentions the names of the poet Amara who had composed the *praśasti* and of its writer Pamsuhu, the son of Ayo who held charge of the *pratolī* of Jayapura Fort.

The inscription was written on a *tithi* (now lost) in the month of Vaiśākha, V.S. 1345, expressed both in chronogram and figures (A.D. 1288).

61. Ajayagadh Satī Stone Inscription, V.S. 1346
(Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, p. 53; N.P. Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93 and Hiralal, *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, Pt. 2)

This record, near the upper gate of Ajayagadh, contains eleven lines of writing, which are, unfortunately, 'too much injured to be readable'. It mentions Jayapura *durgga* in the second line, and is dated on Wednesday, the 14th *tithi* of the dark half of the month of Mārgga, V.S. 1346 (A.D. 1289), in the reign of Mahārāja Śrī Bhojavarmmadeva.

62. Ajayagadh R.I. of Subhaṭa
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I*, I, pp. 330-38; noticed by N.P.

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Chakravarti, *A.S.I.*, *A.R.*, 1935-36, p. 93, and Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, XXI, pp. 47, 53, 88 & Pl. XV)

It is a well-preserved epigraph inscribed on a rock near the Tarhauni Gate of Ajayagadh Fort. With the exception of the introductory invocation to Kedāra, the whole record is in verse. Its object is to record the construction of a temple by Subhaṭa, a Vāstavya Kāyastha, who held the post of the Superintendent of Treasury (*Kośādhikārādhipati*) during the reign of king Bhojavarman.

The epigraph also traces the origin of the Vāstavya *vaṁśa* from Vāstu who resided at Takkarika, one of a group of thirty-six towns in which dwelt men of the writer caste (*karaṇa-karmanivāsa-pūta*). It also mentions the following members of that family who had held positions of importance under the Candellas : (1) Jājuka, who was appointed to superintend at all times the affairs of the state by Gaṇḍa and received the village of Dugauḍa in grant, (2) Maheśvara, the *viśiṣa* of Kālañjara under Kīrtivarman who was awarded the village of Pipalāhikā (both of them are also mentioned in No. 15 above), (3) Gaṁgādhara, the *saciva* and *kañcukī* of Paramardideva and (4) his younger brother Jauṇādhara, both of whom fought at Kālañjara, (5) Ālhu, officer in charge of the *pratolī* of the fort, (6) Vīdana to whom was entrusted the administration of the realm by king Paramardideva, (7) Vāse, *viśiṣa* of Jayadurga (Ajayagadh) under Trailokyavarman, who defeated and killed Bhojuka 'who....was rending the kingdom in two', and was rewarded with the gift of the village of Varbhavarī, (8) his younger brother Ānanda, the governor of the fort (of Ajayagadh) who reduced the Bhīlas, Śabaras and Pulindas to submission and (9) Subhata, the *saciva*, *kośādhikārādhipati* and *Bhāṇḍāgārapati* of Bhojavarman, who was placed at the head of all the weighty affairs of the State. The inscription lavishes great encomiums on him for personal accomplishments, character and benevolence. Subhaṭa and his wife Devaladevī are mentioned in other inscriptions also found in Ajayagadh and Panna.

The epigraph comes to an abrupt end, mentioning neither the date nor the names of the composer of the *praśasti* and its engraver.

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63. Charkhari C.P. Inscription of Hammīravarman, V.S. 1346 (Edited by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, pp. 134-36)

This *tāmraka* was also found in the collection of the ruler of the former Charkhari State (U.P.). It records a grant of king Hammīravarman in favour of two Brāhmaṇa brothers, Śrīdhara and Abhe belonging to Bhāradvāja *gotra*. The gift village Kokaḍa or Kīkaḍa *grāma* was situated in Vedesaitha *viṣaya*. The record mentions the names of certain other villages also, but as they are not perfectly legible, it is not possible to say whether they too formed part of the grant. The grant was made in Puṣya *nakṣatra* on Sunday, Bhādra *vadi* 12, V.S. 1346 (September 11, A.D. 1289).

In this inscription the titles given to Hammīravarman and his predecessors are of special importance. While Paramardideva, Trailokyavarman and Vīravarman are styled *Paramabhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-Paramamāheśvara Sāhi-Mahārāja*, Hammīravarman himself is styled *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Sāhi-Rājāvalītrayopeta-Kālañjarādhipati-Mahārāja*. The adoption of the title Sāhi and the dropping of the titles of *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parameśvara* in the case of Hammīravarman appear significant.

The name of the writer of the document, Paṇḍita Rauma (Rāma ?)-pāla, is mentioned but not that of the engraver.

64. Bamhni Satī Record, V.S. 1365
(Text published by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XVI, p. 10, n. 4; and corrected, *Ib.*, XX, p. 135, n. 1)

This epigraph found in the village of Bamhni in Damoh district, Madhya Pradesh, records the case of a *satī* in 'Brāhmaṇī *grāma*', during the victorious reign (*vijayarājye*) of Hammīravarmmadeva. It is dated in V.S. 1365, when Mahārājaputra Śrī Vāghadeva was ruling (*bhujyamāne*), evidently as a vassal of the Candella king. Paṇḍita Jayapāla was the writer of the inscription.

65. Ajayagadh Satī Stone Inscription, V.S. 1368
(Text published by Hiralal, *E.I.*, XX, p. 134, n. 2; and *Mādhurī*, Vol. V, Pt. 2, No. 2)

This inscription, engraved on the rock, a little below the upper gate of Ajayagadh Fort, also records a case of *satī* during the reign of *Mahārāja* Hammīravarman. It is dated Wednesday, Śrāvaṇa *sudi* 6, V.S. 1368 (July 11, A.D. 1311).

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Appendix B

INSCRIPTIONS OF CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES WHICH REFER TO CANDELLA RULERS

1. Banaras Plates of Karṇa, K.S. 793
(Edited by V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 48; also Kielhorn, *E.I.*, II, pp. 297 ff)

These plates were issued by the Kalacuri king Karṇa from his camp at Prayāga on the occasion of the *saṁvatsara śrāddha* of his father Gāṅgeyadeva, when he granted a village situated in Kāsī *bhūmi* to a Brāhmaṇa. The charter was issued on Monday, the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Phālguṇa, K.S. 793 (January 18, A.D. 1042). *Inter alia,* the record states that Kokalla I, an ancestor of Karṇa, gave protection to Śrī-Harṣa, the king of Citrakūṭa. Certain scholars identify him with king Harṣa of the Candella dynasty, but it is extremely doubtful.

2. Dubkund S.I. of Vikramasiṁha, V.S. 1145
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, II, pp. 232-40)

It belongs to the reign of Vikramasiṁha, the Kacchapaghāta ruler of Dubkund (M.P.) and states, *inter alia*, that his ancestor Arjuna, 'anxious to serve the illustrious Vidyādharadeva', had 'fiercely slain in a great battle the illustrious Rājyapāla...' Vidyādhara is the homonymous Candella ruler and Rājyapāla the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj.

3. Jhansi S.I. of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha
(Edited by Kielhorn, *E.I.*, I, pp. 214-17)

This fragmentary inscription found at Jhansi (U.P.), and now preserved in the State Museum, Lucknow, has been assigned on paleographic grounds to 12th cen. It appears to refer to certain rulers of Kānyakubja, who do not admit of identification. L. 20 of the record refers to somebody who had protected Kīrtivarman against the Cedi king Karṇa, and had replaced the former on his throne after defeating the latter.

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It also seems to state that a ruler of Kānyakubja along with Kīrtivarman and Udayāditya of Malwa had formed a confederacy against the Cedi king. Kīrtivarman is undoubtedly the homonymous Candella ruler, but the identification of Sallakṣaṇasiṁha with Sallakṣaṇavarman is doubtful.

4. Ratanpur Inscription of Jājalladeva I, K.S. 866
   (Edited by V.V. Mirashi, *C.I.I.*, IV, No. 77)

This record belongs to the Kalacuri dynasty of Ratanpur. *Inter alia*, it states that 'on account of his prowess' Jājalladeva was 'honoured like a friend with (presents of) fortune by the king of Kānyakubja and the ruler of Jejābhuktikā'. The latter has been identified with the Candella ruler Sallakṣaṇavarman.

5. Madanpur Stone Inscriptions of Pṛthvīrāja III Cāhamāna, V.S. 1239
   (Noticed by Cunningham, *A.S.R.*, X, p. 98 and Pl. XXXII, Nos. 9 and 10; *Ibid.*, XXI, pp. 173-74; also *P.R.A.S.*, *W.C.*, 1903-04, p. 55)

These three records, inscribed on the pillars of Madanpur (district Lalitpur, U.P.) temples, throw valuable light on the war between Pṛthvīrāja and Paramardideva Candella. They expressly state that Pṛthvīrāja devastated Jejākabhukti in V.S. 1239.

6. Bangla Stone Inscriptions of the time of Yajvapāla Gopāla, V.S. 1337-1338
   (Edited by D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXI, pp. 323 ff; also noted, H.N. Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, etc.)

Fifteen inscriptions of the time of the Yajvapāla king Gopāla of Nalapura (Narwar) have been found on *satī* pillars on the outskirts of Bangla village in Shivapuri district, M.P. They commemorate the warriors killed in a battle fought between Gopāla and the 'Caṁdilla' king Vīravarman of Jejāhuti or Jejābhukti. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Valuvā (spelt differently in different records), modern Barua, about a mile from the village of Bangla, on Friday, Caitra *sudi* 7, the year being 1337 according to 6 records, and 1338 according to the other 5. Dr. Sircar explaining the discrepancy says : 'If the year is regarded as *Kārttikādi*, V.S. 1338 current was the same as V.S. 1337 expired.' The date works out as March 28, 1281 A.D.

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Some of these records claim victory for king Gopāla. The Dahi C.P. (dated Vaiśākha *sudi* 15, V.S. 1337), on the other hand, seems to suggest that victory favoured the Candellas.

7. Narwar Inscription of Yajvapāla Gopāla, V.S. 1338 (Edited by D.C. Sircar, *E.I.*, XXXIII; also H.N. Dwivedi, *Gwalior Rājya Ke Abhilekha*, Introduction, p. 40)

In this record the Yajvapāla ruler Gopāla expressly claims to have defeated Vīravarman, the king of Jejābhukti.

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(K=king, M=Candella minister, r=river)

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31		9	his reign	the reign
37		9	grandson	son
37		13	The other Khajuraho	The Khajuraho
38		11	freedom from fear	freedom fear
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179		15	dynasty[4]	dynasty
181		9	Kṛṣṇapa=Āsrvā	Āsarvā=Kṛṣṇapa
183	1	2	Cun-	Cun
202	44	6	Lohasihāṇī	Lohāsihānī
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216		26	Jinapāla	Jināpāla
219		23	1960	1910
220		10	Smith, V.A.	Smith, V.S.
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42	1	6	न्निशेष	०निन्शेष
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Addenda

Add to p. 173 :

The earliest inscription of the reign of Bhojavarman is the Isvarmau (Hindoria) stone inscription dated Vaiśākha *sudi* 3, V.S. 1344 (April 17, 1287). It mentions both Bhojavarman and his feudatory Vāghadeva, also known to us from the Bamhni record of the time of Hammīravarman, vide, Hiralal, *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*, 2nd edn., pp. 56-7.

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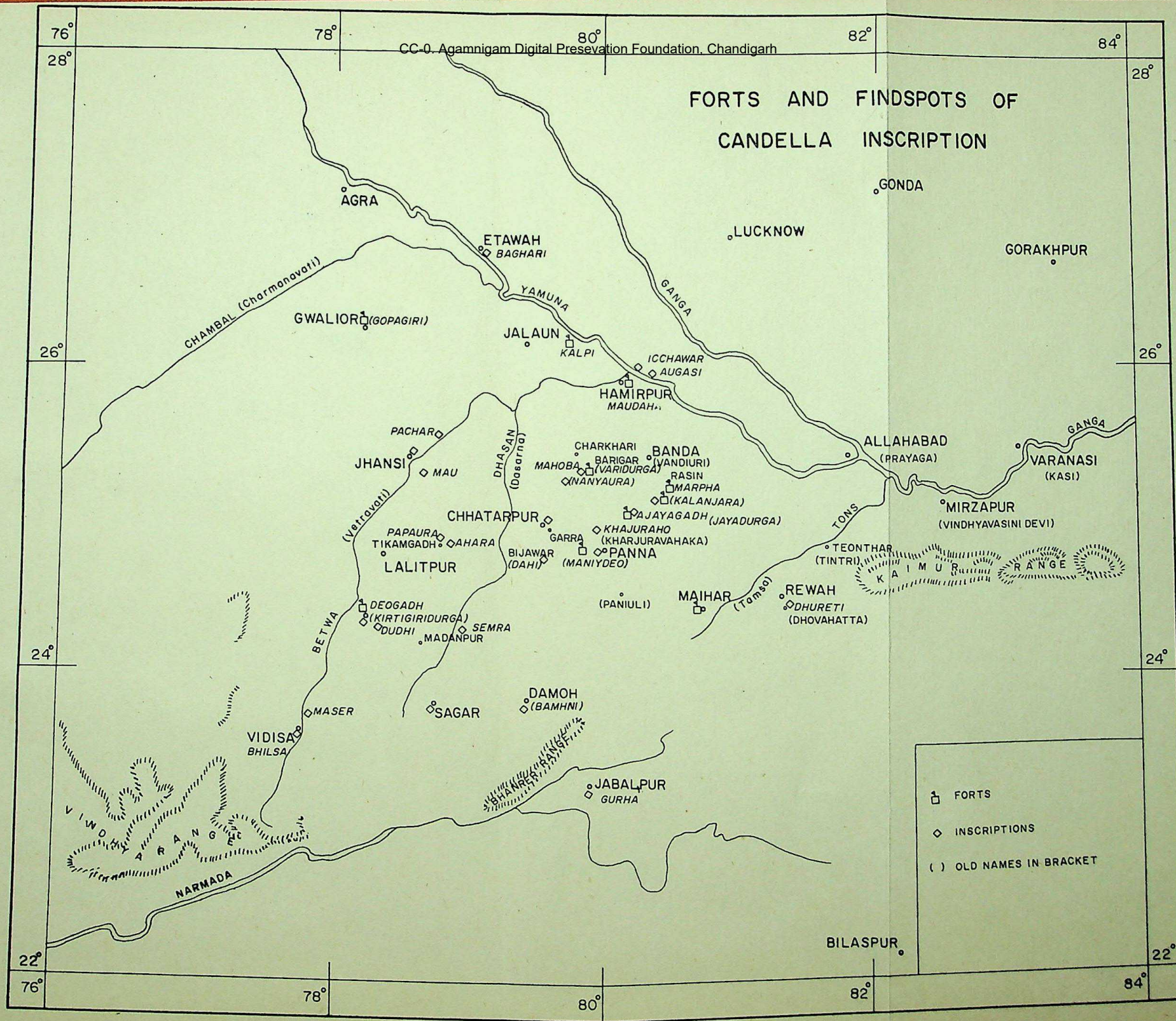

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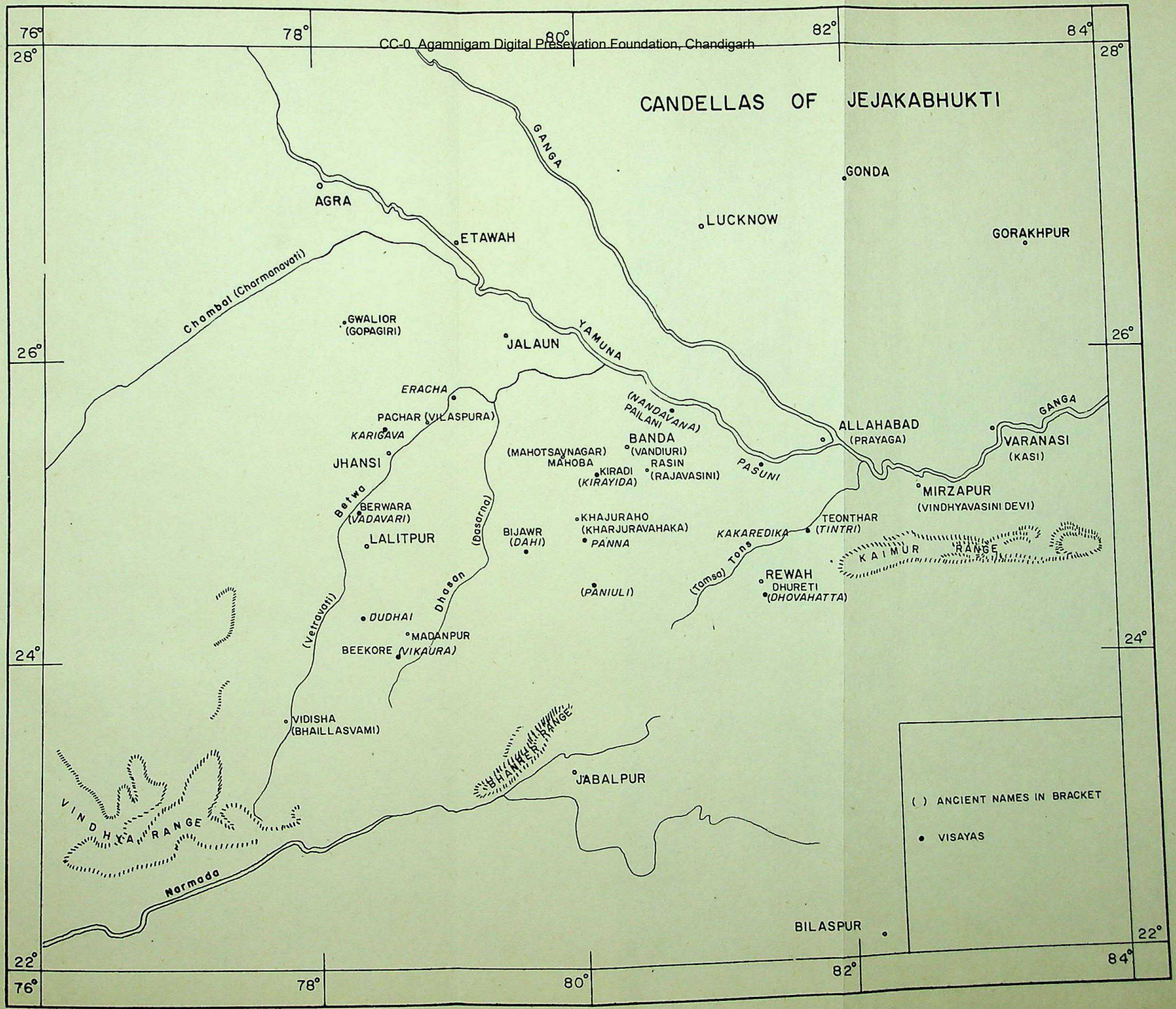

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